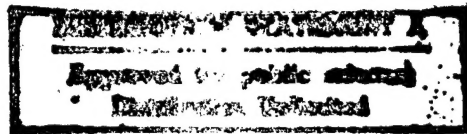


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JPRS 82165

4 November 1982



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2070

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EDITORIAL OUTLINES ROLE, TASK OF THEATER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Oct 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Theater Faces New Tasks"]

[Text] The new theatrical season is beginning. One after another the theaters are raising their curtains for their audiences to see new works of national and world dramaturgy, the undying heroes of the classics and the images of our contemporaries.

The past theatrical season was strenuous and demanding. In addition to its constant duty of creating modern works of national dramaturgy, of playing significant productions of Soviet dramaturgy and the drama of the socialist countries, and finding new interpretations of classical pieces, the Bulgarian theater had to meet immediate tasks of broad sociopolitical significance. It was a season in which one of the most striking shows was dedicated to the 12th BCP Congress. Works devoted to the life and ideas of Georgi Dimitrov on the occasion of the centenary of his birth assumed a significant place in the repertory. Once more the revolutionary theme and its deep-seated connection with the fervor of the present-day building of socialism resounded in our theater arts. Theatrical companies not only returned to the most value-laden productions, but also created new works which widened the area of the artistic exploration of the revolution in the people's hearts and souls.

A significant event in the life of the Bulgarian theater was the Sofia season of the Theater of the Nations. In scale, organization and diversity of artistic activities, this season left lasting traces in the history of these festivals, which have the noble function--through the art of the theater--of strengthening cooperation among peoples and their unity in the struggle for peace.

The season that has now begun confronts the theaters with the responsible tasks assigned by the 12th BCP Congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's policy speech to the 14th Komsomol Congress. It is, above all, a season which must strengthen and raise to greater heights the modern socialist repertory. Impending is our theaters' participation in the gala days of the Soviet play in Pazardzhik. It is a season preceding the review of modern Bulgarian drama that will be held in 1984. Efforts must be made to create new significant productions of modern dramaturgy, striking works of the image of the man of our time, the hero and builder of the new Bulgaria. Quite often on our stage we see plays in which

a class analysis is absent, in which trivial contemporary themes are interpreted, in which there are no captivating and significant images of contemporary heroes, no profound and passionate conflicts capable of eliciting powerful civic ideas. Obviously what is needed is greater activity of the theaters in working with writers and in setting higher requirements not only for the plays, but also for their production.

Unquestionably, audience preference and interest play a part in building the repertory. But this must not happen through an erroneous understanding of the "box office appeal" and "drawing power" of works which sometimes bring on stage productions without the requisite solid content, which are entertaining for themselves alone and which treat of peripheral problems. From the platform of the Komsomol Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov reminded us once more that there are isolated cases where "a class analysis is absent, where in isolated productions the spiritual image of contemporary man is impoverished or historical perspective is lost, where the playwright is submerged in everyday trifles and does not lift his gaze to the great things, the main things of life."

Here we have the role and place of theater criticism, which is called upon to be timely, objective, exacting and dispassionate in its judgments if it is truly to succeed in "separating the wheat from the tares." The past season gave us examples of remaining silent about weak productions on stage or pardoning them, of the depreciation of criteria, and especially of the isolation of artistic facts from their significance as factors in the esthetic education of audiences, especially young people.

The repertories of theaters that have already been announced show a diversity and wealth of artistic searching. They reveal the ambition of companies to perform complex ideological and artistic functions. But in some places these repertories are still not adapted to the real capabilities of the theaters or to participation in them by a significant part of the companies' creative potential. The creative capabilities of all generations, especially of mature creative persons, are not fully used. Only a realistic squaring of repertories with companies and an increase in the part played by casts in their production can guarantee achievement of the projected goals. Artistic managements and public organizations in the theaters must combat inertia and indifference and isolated cases of lack of interest and passivity; must create an atmosphere of solidarity and unity in the creative efforts of the playwrights. Alongside the key role of the director as overall organizer and ideological and artistic interpreter of the work, the performing artist must take his well-deserved place--the performing artist who, by his activity, by the wealth of his artistic talent and his high civic thinking, must become an inspired mediator between author, producer and audience, and fully a creator in his own right of new artistic worlds.

The theater arts must achieve all the things for which they are intended. And this means not only that the doors of the auditoriums must be opened wide, but also that the theater must travel new routes to its audience and must carry its art wherever it is expected and wanted. More active work is needed to attract into the auditoriums the working class and toiling peasantry, young workers and students, children and teenagers. We are glad that the new theater programs are allotting a merited place to children's audiences.

The implementation of these high goals requires an active attitude towards theater problems on the part of party, youth and trade-union offices and organizations, and their direct and able support and assistance.

The curtain has gone up. New and important contacts with the public lie ahead. The theaters must turn these encounters into unforgettable gala days of art.

6474

CSO: 2200/7

DEPUTY MINISTER OUTLINES CSSR'S FOREIGN POLICY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 82 p.6

[Article by Jaromir Johanes, deputy minister of foreign affairs: "The Decisive Factor"]

[Text] The 37th UN General Assembly opens its deliberations in New York today. It is meeting under conditions of a complicated and tense international situation. The responsibility for this unfavorable condition must be fully borne by the policy of the imperialist circles, especially the United States and its present administration.

Despite the complexity and deterioration of the international situation, it would be wrong to succumb to pessimism and ignore the deep-rooted detente policy of the past decade. For the atmosphere in which the assembly meets is also marked by an activization of the peace-loving progressive forces of the whole world in the struggle against the danger of war.

The decisive factor in this endeavor is the peace policy of the socialist states stemming from the peace program approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, which was adopted by the other socialist countries, and which fully reflects the aspirations of countries of all continents. We must, therefore, make sure the deliberations and conclusions of the 37th UN General Assembly are fully responsive to the voices of all realistic, antiwar forces in the world struggling against feverish rearmament and for equitable peaceful cooperation.

The coming deliberations should produce really concrete and effective resolutions of the kind fought for within the framework of their peace offensive by the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union. These were convincingly presented at the Second Special Conference of Disarmament, above all, in the message of the supreme Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, the presentation by A. Gromyko, in the Soviet Memorandum on Disarmament, as well as in presentations and positions of the other socialist states. In this respect, we are prepared to support any proposals which consistently support the aims of disarmament and relaxation of international tensions. We consider the preservation of peace and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe of paramount importance.

The way to resolve this key problem of our times quickly and effectively was shown by the Soviet Union at the special conference on disarmament by pledging never to be the first to use a nuclear weapon. We again emphasize and support this historic initiative and will do all we can to encourage other nuclear powers to adopt a similar pledge which, in fact, would relieve the world of the threat of nuclear war.

Similarly, we will work toward the development and application of all positive opportunities and ideas which characterized the course and conclusions of the recent conference on disarmament, and implementation of all previous major decisions of this supreme UN body on this subject.

Among these certainly is the Declaration on the Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe which, at USSR initiative, was adopted by last year's General Assembly and which proclaims first use of atomic weapons the most serious crime against mankind. The socialist states also support a complete and final destruction of all nuclear weapons, as called for in the Soviet proposal for the preparation, approval and implementation of a program for nuclear disarmament in stages.

Of equal importance is the question of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, strengthening the policy of nonproliferation of nuclear arms and questions of security for the nonnuclear states.

In connection with nuclear disarmament, the coming General Assembly will surely emphasize the great importance of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on medium-range nuclear weapons. It should be pointed out, however, that in order to achieve success in these negotiations, it is essential that the American side respond positively to the constructive proposals presented in Geneva by the Soviet Union, a development for which the world public is still waiting.

Given the fact that weapons of mass destruction represent the greatest danger for humanity, the CSSR will actively support a ban of all other types of such weapons, especially a ban of the neutron bomb and chemical weapons, including their planned binary modification. Even today, the introduction of American chemical weapons stored in Western Europe, would lead to unforeseeable consequences for the nations of Europe.

The Czechoslovak delegation to the 37th General Assembly will also work toward disarmament in the area of conventional arms, and will advocate a ban on placing any type of weapons in outer space. We also wish to stress the importance of regional disarmament negotiations, especially the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe at which progress is still being hampered by delaying tactics and an attempt by the West to gain one-sided military superiority.

A great contribution to progress in questions of security and disarmament would also be a successful conclusion of the Madrid Conference of signatories of the Helsinki Agreement. It is, therefore, important that the United Nations

issue a call to these signatories for a successful conclusion of the meeting, in the interest of further relaxation of tensions and especially for the purpose of convoking a conference on confidence-building measures toward disarmament and security in Europe.

The Madrid Conference should close with the signing of a comprehensive and balanced document which would create the prerequisites for a continuation of the spirit of Helsinki, for an all-European process of enhancing security and expanding productive and beneficial cooperation. These ideas will be stressed by the CSSR delegation. At the same time, we will firmly denounce any steps infringing on the Helsinki Final Act, especially attempts by international reactionaries to grossly interfere in the affairs of socialist and other states.

The CSSR will continue to advocate the principles contained in the Declaration of International Cooperation toward the achievement of the disarmament goals approved, on the basis of a CSSR initiative, by the 34th General Assembly in 1979. Our initiative represents the implementation of the call by the president of the republic and general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, on all states of the world to adopt a pledge to approach disarmament problems in a constructive manner, and to create an atmosphere which would bring about progress in disarmament negotiations as rapidly as possible.

The ideas in the declaration have lost nothing in their timeliness and their significance is constantly growing in the current conditions of stagnation in the disarmament negotiations, as demonstrated by this year's session of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, marked by the obstructionist practices of the NATO countries. It is precisely in productive, honest and constructive cooperation among nations in the sphere of disarmament that we see an effective role for the United Nations in the resolution of the most serious problems of our time.

One of the basic tasks of the United Nations is to deal with problems of strengthening international security and abandoning the use of force in international relations, both of which will remain the center of attention this year as well. Dealing with these problems is an extremely serious task and the success of this assembly session will depend on the measure in which it contributes to peaceful and just resolution of crisis situations in the world, and to what extent it will apply the authority and assets of the United Nations toward this goal.

Together with the other socialist states and all peace-loving forces, Czechoslovakia will strive for a lasting and just solution in the Near East. We will firmly denounce the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the genocide of Palestinians and the civilian population of Beirut, and demand an unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and all other occupied Arab territory.

The imperialist and Zionist aggression in Lebanon has again revealed to the whole world the real aims of Israeli expansionist policy and the direct responsibility of the United States for the tense situation in the Near East. Today, it is clear to all that without broad support from Washington, Israel could never have realized its aggressive intentions. We must again reject attempts at separate solutions of the situation in this area on the basis of the Camp David agreement, and support the proposals for a comprehensive settlement of the Near East conflict, based on the Soviet proposal for an international conference on this problem with the participation of all interested parties, among which the PLO, as the only legal representative of the Palestinian Arab people, must take its place. Such a solution must, above all, include the inalienable right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

Along with other socialist countries, the CSSR will also deal with the other areas of tension in the world, and will advance proposals for their peaceful settlement. We will denounce imperialist intrigues with respect to the Afghan Democratic Republic, and support the efforts of its government to resolve the problem by political means.

With equal vigor, we will support the proposals of the socialist states of Indochina for the normalization of their relations with Thailand, and the convocation of an international conference of the big powers and other interested states, which would assess the situation in Southeast Asia.

We will denounce the efforts of American imperialism to dictate to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean region, especially the gross pressures and attacks against Cuba. We will work toward a speedy settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict which is not in the interest of the two warring countries and which also threatens the security and stability of the entire region, thus creating more room for further imperialist intervention in the affairs of the countries concerned.

The CSSR delegation will strongly support the efforts of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic toward peaceful unification of the two parts of Korea, and the withdrawal of American troops from the south.

Our delegation will subject to strong criticism the policy of apartheid, the boycotting of the UN resolution on the independence of Namibia, acts of aggression against neighboring African states perpetrated by the South African racist regime. We will advocate adoption of corresponding resolutions aimed at terminating these policies.

As in previous meetings, the 37th General Assembly should focus on the liquidation of the remnants of the world colonial system and neocolonialist expansion of the Western powers, and culminate by condemning imperialist practices of fanning tensions by forceful preservation of the obsolete past. This also applies to the recent crisis in the Malvinas.

Great tasks confront the assembly in other areas as well. In the forefront will be the problem of mass breaches of basic human rights, apartheid and racism, as well as the activization of Nazi ideology. The CSSR delegation will act with determination against all these phenomena and will especially emphasize the need to guarantee the most basic human right of all, the right to life. It will also focus on problems of youth, notably the right of youth to education and employment. In this sphere, it will base itself on the CSSR initiative at the 36th session, which is being successfully implemented.

Great attention will be devoted to assessment of economic problems, especially the negative manifestations in relations among states, characterized by tension, instability and unacceptable discrimination practiced by the imperialist circles.

It will be necessary to reemphasize the inseparable links binding the development of international economic cooperation and good political relations among states, including efforts to reach concrete results in disarmament and achieve the justified demand of restructuring international economic relations on an equitable and democratic foundation.

The coming 37th General Assembly unquestionably provides another important forum this year which, like the Second Special Conference on Disarmament, the socialist states intend to use for the presentation and advocacy of its peaceloving foreign policy. This will not be a simple and easy task.

9496

CSO: 2400/2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

YOUTH-ARMY COOPERATION MEETING--Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) and the Central Committee, Union of Socialist Youth (SSM), met in Prague on 13 October with top Pioneers and leaders of the units of Young Defenders of Homeland (oddily mladych obrancu vlasti). Currently there are 767 of such units active in the CSSR. Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of CSLA Major General J. Klicha spoke at the meeting at which top Pioneer leaders were decorated. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 14 Oct 82 p 4]

CSO: 2400/31

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STATE, CHURCH PEACE MOVEMENT DIFFERENCES SEEN 'UNBRIDGEABLE'

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 28 September: "The Protestant Church of the GDR and the 'Peace Question'--Tensions at the Synod in Halle"]

[Text] The Synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR which concluded Tuesday (28 September) in Halle, Saxony, revealed tensions between church leadership and the membership who experienced difficulties with their commitment for peace through attempted government scare tactics and repressive measures. The criticism directed at the church leadership made clear the dilemma of the Church Federation which as "church under socialism" on the one hand confirms its willingness to discuss and compromise with the communist government but, on the other hand, cannot and will not desert church members in the "question of peace."

The concluding statement of the church leadership emphasizes that the Protestant church did not question "justified security interests" of the GDR and other countries. No retractions are needed in this question. At the same time, the church leadership appeals to government leaders to respect forms of Christian peace work even if it cannot participate fully "from the Marxist-Leninist point of view." Church leaders obviously appealed to their own church members when making the request that one would have to learn how to deal with "given realities" if new thoughts on military security are to be explored.

Contradictions in the Official "Peace Policy"

In the same statement the church leadership defends the Protestant Church's own way of dealing with the "peace question" and also points out contradictions in the "peace policy" of the GDR. It is contradictory, e.g., when Honecker states, on the one hand, that more arms do not result in more security and when, on the other hand, government leaders emphasize again and again that peace will be the safer the stronger socialism is.

In a number of contributions to synod discussions it became clear that the church leadership is trying to confirm its efforts to continue discussion with the SED leadership in spite of the sharp criticism directed by communist government leaders against the Christian peace movement. Wittenberg Pastor Schorlemer, who is a critic of the GDR leadership security policy

that is based exclusively on the principle of military strength, suggested that the "peace question" should concentrate primarily on the formation of socialist society.

Criticism by Synod Members

The efforts of the church leaders meeting in Halle to compromise with government leaders for the sake of safeguarding their own interests did not meet with unanimous approval by the synod members. The announcement by the church leaders that the peace emblem "Swords into Plowshares", the symbol of Christian peace movement in the GDR, would in the future no longer be displayed in public resulted in surprise and criticism on the part of synod participants. There were complaints that the church leadership was dropping a method of "presenting and demonstrating" church peace commitment. In this connection, the increased militarization of large parts of GDR society was pointed out. A pastor from Saxony added that increasingly in GDR schools pacifist commitments are rudely attacked by students.

In view of mounting pressure on members of the Christian peace movement in the GDR by state authorities the question was raised at the Halle synod if it was still right for church leaders to try to conduct open discussions with government leaders. This willingness to discuss is obviously received with a growing lack of understanding by young Christians who display openly their commitment in the peace question.

Unbridgeable Contrast

The compromising attitude of church leaders in regard to the "peace question" was perhaps criticised at the Halle synod by synod members because it is becoming increasingly clear that there are unbridgeable contrasts between the basic attitude of Christians committed to peace and the political goals of the official government "peace policy." Whereas the Christian peace movement in the GDR directs its peace commitment, which contains strong pacifist and neutralist concepts, toward finding new ways for securing peace, the government is mainly concerned to bring down, with the help of the peace movement in the West, the rearmament decision of NATO while, at the same time, retaining and strengthening its own military potential. That there is no consensus at all between these two extremes became obvious in the criticism directed at the attitude of church leaders during the Halle synod.

8889

CSO: 2300/10

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROTESTANT SYNOD SCORES CHURCH'S 'TIMOROUSNESS' ON PEACE ISSUE

Synod Conference

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 29 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 27 September: "Criticism of GDR Church Leadership--Conference of Protestant Synod in Halle"]

[Text] The this years fall conference of the synod of the League of Evangelical Churches in the GDR is being held currently in the Saxon city of Halle. The "peace question" found its way immediately to the heart of the five day deliberations of the synod, which is ending on Tuesday [28 September 1982]. The church leadership submitted a 32-page report to the synodalists which dealt exclusively with the church's role in the cause of peace.

The paper clearly bears the marks of involvement of the church leadership in the question of criticism by the communist regime of the peace movement in the GDR and started a lively discussion among the synodalists. The efforts of the church leadership to prevent breaking off the dialogue with the government despite increased government repression of the Christian peace movement did not meet with unanimous approval by the synodalists.

The compliance of the church leadership, which was outwardly demonstrated in particular by the fact that the peace badge "Swords into Plowshares" is no longer being distributed, was regretted by the synodalists. The church leadership was reproached for having striven too hard for balance in their report on the "peace question." It was felt that because of excessive anxiety within the church too much concern for the wishes of the state had been shown instead of dealing with the problems troubling the young Christians who had publicly committed themselves on the peace question, according to one young person. In view of growing government pressure, several participants in the synod pleaded for a public declaration that the government leadership was in no way honoring the promise of "freedom of belief and of conscience" made by Honecker in talks with the church leaders.

The critics were answered by Magdeburg Bishop Krusche in his stewardship report on the occasion of his departure from office as chairman of the church league, with the assurance that the church would continue in the future to acknowledge "independent responsibility for peace" and govern itself accordingly.

Appeasing the SED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 38, 20 Sep 82 pp 51, 54

[Unattributed article: "peace Movement: With Howitzers--The SED Is Trying to Divide the Protestant Church in the GDR--By Promises to the Church Leader and Harshness Toward the Peace Movement"]

[Text] The devout East Berlin party-line WOCHENPOST irritated its readers with a headline on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the SED secretary general. Spreading resplendently across three columns on page three of the journal it stated, "We are as one with you in responsibility for peace." SED Secretary General Erich Honecker and Lutheran Bishop Werner Krusche affirmed their unity with a hearty handshake in an unusually large picture beneath the headline.

Instead of the usual muddled account by the GDR news agency ADN on the church leader's congratulatory courtship of the East German state and party leader, the WOCHENPOST subscribers got Krusche in the original text: The church had the right according to the chairman of the GDR church league in his message of greeting to the SED birthday boy, to make "an independent contribution" to the commitment to peace in the German Democratic Republic.

The WOCHENPOST statement, ordered by Erich Honecker himself, was meant as a gesture: the SED leadership wanted--in timely fashion before the league synod of the GDR church this week in Halle--to demonstrate publicly that it does not wish to have a falling-out with the church on the issue of peace.

The harsh actions of the GDR authorities against those groups which are committing themselves against armament in the west and in the east on religious grounds, far from the official, state-controlled peace movement, had fed the suspicion among rectors and church higher-ups that the "constructive togetherness" propagated by Honecker in 1978 was now over and done with. Many even saw the approach of a new church struggle as in the stone ages of the GDR of the 1950's.

The fear of a worsening of relations between church and state is not entirely without foundation. For the SED has certainly altered its tactics toward the church friends of peace: instead of taking the church on in frontal attack, the state party has of late been trying to drive a wedge between the church leadership and the lower echelons of the church.

Church representatives and rectors have in recent weeks received a series of invitations "to confidential conversations" with the local party leadership. The SED functionaries had strict instructions to apply gentle pressure to their guests: the common peace objectives should be brought to the fore and the clergy put under pressure to persuade the members of their flock who are concerned about peace that they were abusing the latitude enjoyed by the church.

The party's parade route had been announced by the state secretary for church questions, Klaus Gysi: "I cannot escape the impression that you are allowing yourselves to be terrorized by a handful of people."

There is no doubt that the SED is determined to put an end to the peace terror. After a wave of repressive actions against those young people who have taken a stand in favor of the church peace movement, for a while last summer the party tolerated the wearing in public of the church peace emblem "Swords into Plowshares." But now the security organs are once again taking drastic action: criminal police are checking schoolbags in schools, even 14-year-olds are being interrogated. Boys and girls who wear the emblem are not given tickets at the ticket window or are chased out of stations by the transport police. Cases have even become known to the church in which young people have had their identity card taken away from them. In its place they received the substitute identity card PM 12--a paper which must otherwise be carried only by freed prisoners or GDR citizens who come to the attention of the police because of attempted flight from the republic. PM 12 holders are considered "unsafe elements" and may not travel abroad.

Drastic examples for those who cannot learn are included in the repertoire of intimidation. In Halle seven students were thrown out of the technical institute. They may not continue their studies at any other institute.

The theology students of the East Berlin language seminary were made uneasy during the service at the opening of the winter semester by the news that the head man of the training facility, Lorenz, had been arrested. The grounds are still unknown. Lorenz had many church contacts in the west.

In many GDR cities students are being suspended from the expanded upper school and stubborn friends of peace are being ordered to attend "cadre discussions" in many factories; if that does not help they are dismissed.

The church leadership usually tries to help those effected to leave the area--as a rule without success. In an effort to intervene with the state organs, Manfred Stolpe of the East Berlin Land church asked, "Why must you shoot at sparrows with cannons, at butterflies with howitzers?" The official hunt for those who sew the peace emblem on their clothing had created a "neurotic atmosphere" in the country, warned Bishop Krusche.

And Stolpe's superior, Brandenburg Bishop Gottfried Forck, challenged the SED to reverse itself: the tense situation could only improve "if a public declaration by the government were printed in all newspapers regretting the current attacks and rehabilitating the emblem 'Swords into Plowshares'"--an unfulfillable challenge, for the party is always right.

State Secretary Gysi countered the unseemly suggestion with the charge: "What we need is obedience to the law by the church." This included keeping their distance from western media. Gysi: "When, for example, DIE WELT serves up on synodal declaration after the other, these forces can only make us nervous." In a counter offer the SED man, consistent with the Honecker line, suggested to the church leaders that "they take things in hand together."

The calculated plan of the SED to divide the church by offering the prospect of more latitude while proceeding with harsh measures against the refractory friends of peace might succeed. Even before the league synod some superiors made it clear that they had accepted the required posture.

The head of the Dessau church, Eberhard Natho, declared that there was "no independent and autonomous peace movement in the GDR," either in the churches or elsewhere in the republic. And Dresden Bishop Johannes Hempel provided inflammatory material within the church's peace circle with the remark that "we have to learn how to suffer again."

Hempel did not mean that the young people should bear the repressive measures brought on by their commitment with christian patience, he meant his advice passively: since they had no prospect of success in the GDR, the friends of peace should suspend their activity and suffer the discord preferably in silence. Meanwhile the theological controversy has been set off by Hempel's interpretation of suffering.

The retreat of the superiors has whopping consequences for the peace groups: with only one vote opposed the conference of the church leaders decided no longer to produce the emblem "Swords into Plowshares" and no longer to distribute finished emblems. The plates and films used in production so far were confiscated by the GDR authorities at the Duerninger press in Loebau already in March.

And the East German church is prepared to put a damper on its peace contacts with the West in order to placate the SED.

Originally the "Inter-church Peace Council" (IKV) in the Netherlands, which has contacts with more than 50 local Lutheran circles in the GDR, wanted to organize a seminar during the peace decade. The participants, church representatives from East and West, were to prepare a paper on the principles of church peace work.

However the plans not only met the rejection by the SED, IKV Secretary Mient Jan Faber was prohibited from entering the GDR.

East-West fraternization became inconvenient even for the church leaders. They wrote to Holland urgently requesting that the peace seminar be called off--for the sake of peace.

9827

CSO: 2300/8

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLICY ON AFRICAN RELATIONS, PROSPECTS FOR 1980'S REVIEWED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 27 No 8, Aug 82 (signed to press 5 Jul 82) pp 19-23

[Article by Karl Rother, East Berlin: "The GDR--A Friend of the Peoples of Africa"]

[Text] The decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress have set clear priorities for the foreign policy of the socialist German state in the 1980's. These decisions place efforts for peace, disarmament and termination of the armaments race into the center the international activities of our country. There is presently no more urgent task for the GDR than that of securing peace. The most aggressive circles of imperialism are striving for military superiority. They are arming themselves to a degree and with a speed never known before; they want to stop social progress in the world at any cost. This is obvious also in the southern part of Africa. The aggressive actions by South African racists against the People's Republic of Angola and other frontier states, as well as the policy of destabilization directed toward the free countries of southern Africa are eloquent proof of all this.

The GDR has always attributed great importance to the struggle of the peoples and countries of Africa. This was attested especially by the 1979 visits of Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia, the People's Republic of Mozambique as well as to Ethiopia.

Common Positions and Ideals

Africa is a continent in the state of awakening. The goals already reached by its countries and peoples had to be achieved with much effort and through struggles demanding many sacrifices. The importance of African countries for the struggle of peace, independence and social progress has increased considerably. "Today's world cannot be ruled against them but only with them," Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, said in his speech at the 10th FDGB [Free German Trade Union] Congress. But all African countries are not yet free. Colonialism, racism and apartheid are still raising their heads. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that the progress made by these

countries is threatened acutely by imperialist confrontation policies. These policies are forcing African countries to spend more money on defense and security, money that could be used for the improvement of the living standards of their people. In this complex present situation, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer this year paid official visits for the third time to African countries. In May he was in the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of the Congo. The Africa visit of the GDR foreign minister happened at a time marked by a considerable increase in tensions in the international situation and by mounting pressures applied by the most aggressive circles of imperialism also to African countries, especially the frontier states. Oskar Fischer's discussion partners considered his visit at the present time to be a convincing demonstration of the solidarity of the GDR and the countries of the socialist community with the struggle of African countries toward strengthening their national independence and for social progress. The countries visited belong to those countries of the African continent with whom the GDR has had long-standing relations of friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity through common positions and ideals in the struggle for peace, disarmament, national liberation and social progress. The visit offered opportunities to continue and deepen exchanges of ideas on important questions of the international situation as well as on questions of the continued development of bilateral cooperation. Especially today, when there is the real danger that the most aggressive circles of imperialism could start a worldwide nuclear holocaust, discussions of this kind have great importance.

The discussions made clear that the struggle for peace has become the essential question of our time. Only when peace is secured can there be a solution for all the other problems of mankind such as poverty, hunger and sickness. This makes necessary the strong unification and active, coordinated efforts of all forces committed to peace. The discussion partners of the GDR foreign minister stated convincingly that the attempts of imperialism to meddle, its policy of destabilization, have no future in Africa because African countries are determined to defend their political independence and continue along the road of progressive social change.

The meetings of the GDR foreign minister with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Canan Banana, Robert Mugabe, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Louis Sylvian-Goma as well as his talks with his colleagues and other leading personalities of party and government in these countries took place in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and cordiality. In the center of the political discussions were questions on the struggle for securing peace, for armament limitation and disarmament as well as on the situation in southern Africa, especially the settlement of the Namibia question. The discussions of Oskar Fischer in Luanda, Harare, Lusaka and Brazzaville resulted in agreement of the discussion partners' concepts of important international questions.

The presidents of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Zambia remembered with great satisfaction their meetings with Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State

Council. The Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge condemned the intentions of the U.S. to place medium-range rockets in Western Europe in order to gain military superiority. In this connection he commended the attitude of socialist countries and other progressive powers in regard to the continuation of detente and the support of general disarmament. Referring to the situation in southern Africa, the Angolan foreign minister pointed to dangers that result from U.S. confrontation policies in this region.

The foreign minister of Zambia, Prof Lameck Goma, also pleaded for general and complete disarmament, especially in the nuclear field, and he emphasized that the threat of nuclear weapons poses the greatest danger to mankind. The discussion partners from Zambia emphasized that the aggressive policies of the white minority regime in South Africa are the main obstacle for peaceful coexistence in this region and for the national and social struggle for liberation in Africa.

On the Situation in Southern Africa

It is only natural that in these discussions and meetings the situation in southern Africa held a position of special importance. It is becoming clear at the present time that the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially those of the United States, are anxious to regain lost positions in Africa. The main thrust of their policy of confrontation in this region is presently directed toward the political and economic destabilization of the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. The discussion partners condemned most strongly the continuing criminal acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other countries of southern Africa. In the People's Republic of Angola, the Botha regime supports counter-revolutionary gangs of UNITA against the Luanda government and provides them with arms for Namibia which the Botha regime occupies illegally.

In the discussions it was pointed out that the apartheid regime is the most important ally of imperialist countries in Africa. Its policies do not permit the establishment of secure peace for the independent countries of the continent. The goals of Pretoria and its sponsors, following a neocolonialist settlement of the Namibia question, are intergran part of past power politics. To this belongs also the stirring up of regional conflicts.

In the discussion unanimous agreement could be reached on the point that in today's world any so-called regional conflict threatens not only the countries of the respective region but, at the same time, world peace in general. This consideration prompts the GDR to condemn the South African racist regime and its policies in the following statement:

This course of brutal suppression, terror, meddling, blackmail and open aggression is a serious threat to the interests of all national forces and countries in Africa and, at the same time, to all peoples on earth. The GDR welcomes, therefore, the results of the summit meeting of the frontier states at Maputo (6-7 March 1982) because these results are directed toward continued cooperation by these countries against imperialist policies of terrorism and meddling as well as toward the rejection of South African policies of aggression.

During the discussions with the foreign ministers of the four African countries it was decided that after political independence had been obtained for Zimbabwe the settlement of the Namibia question is very definitely next on the agenda. In the center of this question is the decision on whether the people of Namibia can finally reap the harvest of their struggle for independence and self-determination led by SWAPO, or whether imperialism and its allies will succeed in the last minute to install a puppet regime which will leave untouched the imperialist strongholds established in Namibia and South Africa against the national and social liberation of the peoples of Africa. A speedy settlement of the Namibia question on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) is possible and necessary. The maneuvers of the Botha regime and the Western countries with the intention to bypass this resolution and to change the internationally recognized status of SWAPO are especially dangerous because they are meant to open the door for neo-colonialist conditions in Namibia.

The GDR will continue in the future to give political, diplomatic and material support to the South West African People's Organization, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, as well as to the patriotic forces of the Republic of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. The GDR will do this with the conviction that the day is not too distant when all the peoples of southern Africa will live peacefully and be free from racial discrimination, suppression and exploitation.

Productive Development of Bilateral Relations

In all the countries visited, discussions were held on the development of bilateral relations. The discussion partners agreed unanimously that bilateral relations are developing well with mutual advantage and profit. It was felt everywhere that the policies of the socialist GDR have a good reputation in Africa and that our country is considered a reliable partner.

The discussion partners emphasized especially the close cooperation between the leaders of our countries which results in important suggestions for the development of bilateral relations. This is made clear once again in the result of the visits of the presidents of Angola and Zambia in the GDR. The discussion partners from Angola confirmed that their country is willing to do everything in its power in order to develop relations with the GDR according to the provisions of the agreement on friendship and cooperation signed in 1979 by Erich Honecker and Dr Augustino Neto, the first president of the People's Republic of Angola. The willingness of the GDR toward a continued dynamic expansion of relations was defined by the discussion partners from Angola as a valuable support for their country. The Angolan comrades emphasized that there is evidence every day of the fact that the fraternal relations between the SED and the MPLA result in decisive motivations for this kind of loyal cooperation.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations 1 ½ years ago, cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Zimbabwe has made good progress. In this development the relations between the SED and the African National Union

of Zimbabwe are of special importance. A lively exchange of delegations was begun with the purpose of developing political, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation. The GDR is very interested in the purposeful development of profitable and mutually advantageous relations. This was confirmed by the signing of a cultural and air traffic agreement during the visit.

In Lusaka, Oskar Fischer stated that the GDR is ready and determined to strengthen in the future the relations already established with Zambia, and to work toward the goal of realizing with the highest possible effectiveness the measures already agreed upon. Again and again the discussion partners from Zambia called to mind the meetings of their president with Erich Honecker which created a climate of mutual respect, confidence and friendship where cooperation thrives so well.

Relations between the SED and the Congolese Worker's Party as well as between the two countries have reached a creditable level. Mutual understanding and confidence are strengthened daily by different meetings and contacts, by cooperation in the training of cadres and through the exchange of experiences.

Of increasing importance is the development of economic cooperation. Important impetus is given to this work by the activities of the "Mixed Commission."

In the People's Republic of the Congo an agreement was also signed--the cultural cooperation plan that extends to 1983.

In all the countries visited the discussion partners expressed the firm determination to continue the development of relations with the GDR for mutual advantage. The agreements reached are a good basis for this goal.

8889

CSO: 2300/6

EDITOR OF PARTY JOURNAL CALLS FOR LIMITS ON PARTY ACTIVITY

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 8-9, 82 pp 26-34

[Article by Sandor Lakos, editor-in-chief of PARTELET: "On the Path of a Further Development of the Political System"]

[Text] A development of the political system has always occupied a central place in our work in the course of the past 25 years. A detailed analysis of this period might be the subject of a special study, one which probably would not be without interest, a study of how the principles for a renewal of our political system made a way for themselves and how they were able, or why they were not able, to be implemented in practice with sufficient effectiveness. But however interesting such an historical overview might be it would obviously overstrain the framework of this article. For this reason we will attempt on this occasion simply to indicate some of the more important historical stations and theoretical lessons.

I.

If we review the past 25 years from the viewpoint of the development of the political system, three periods outline themselves before us.

In the period extending from 1956 to 1962, understandably and probably necessarily, an analysis and critique of the errors prior to 1956 and a separation from the earlier political line and the methods used stood in the foreground. The party tried to define its position in the most important questions primarily in relation to the earlier period. It tried to work out and publicly demonstrate what sort of guarantees it wanted to build into our political system so that the mistakes of the past could not be repeated. Extraordinarily important principles were formulated in this period, primarily in regard to the functioning of the party, its internal life and order, its linkage system and style of work. It was then that our style of work adopted all that which we have become accustomed to indicating with the expressions closeness to man, openness and directness and which is an element of key importance for trust toward the party. It was then that we developed the chief principles, still valid, of the alliance policy, the relationship between the party and state and the party and social organs, which represented a basis for our further development.

The second period can be put generally between 1962 and 1968. The socialist reorganization of agriculture, laying the foundations of socialism and thus the objective of making socialist relationships general created different conditions for the realization of the principles which had been developed. The program of developing socialist democracy, of the democratization of the guidance of society, and the task of strengthening the alliance policy, of broadening its organizational frameworks, came into the foreground and received great emphasis in these years.

The beginning of the third period can be put at 1968. From the viewpoint of the functioning of the political system the emphasis on interest relationships and interest structures, putting them in the center, is one of the important elements of this new period. The recognition that uncovering the role of various interests, resolving the contradictions existing among them and creating the necessary harmony were indispensable elements for the appropriate functioning of the political system and a basic condition for the realization of democracy made a way for itself at this time. In this period the interdependencies of the political system and the economy came increasingly to the fore--making decisions at the appropriate level, increasing individual and collective interest, broadening the possibility of having a say and ensuring the necessary spheres of authority and forms for this.

The development after 1956 began in the political sphere of society. Proposing such trends, and trying to realize them, as reducing excessive centralization, a better delimitation of spheres of authority and decision making rights and increasing local independence prepared the soil for the reform of economic guidance, of great significance, which was in this sense a continuation of the political aspirations following the counter-revolution. This should be emphasized even if we admit that the need for more radical economic changes had come up even earlier in scientific debates but that the political leadership at that time did not see that the conditions for these were ensured. At the same time it is a fact that the reform of the economic mechanism increased the significance of a correct treatment of interest problems and of a more effective linking of central guidance and local independence and again made timely the necessity of a further development of social-political relationships.

This was one of the chief reasons why the party dealt with the questions of state theory and socialist democracy in a stressed way and at the highest level (Central Committee, Political Committee) between 1968 and 1970, passing special resolutions concerning the work of government, of people's representatives, of the national assembly, councils and judicature, concerning modification of the constitution and concerning party guidance of state work. In these years the party systematically reviewed all important areas of the functioning of the political system and decided on further steps at essential points.

The development of our society has shown that in political practice problems which had been thought finally solved earlier come up again and again. On the

one hand this is natural and is connected with the unceasing process of generation changes. On the other hand the reappearance of problems also shows--and this calls for proper self-examination also--that perhaps our solutions were not adequate, that we were not able to build sufficiently effective institutional guarantees into the functioning of our system or that the existing guarantees have not proven sufficient. It is also obvious that our development constantly brings up new questions which require creative answers.

In recent years the change in economic conditions, for example, has prompted a more profound rethinking of certain interdependencies. The more consistent application of certain requirements of economic guidance, formulated earlier, also requires a renewal of the attitude toward and practice of the guidance of society, a more efficient functioning of the political system--swifter and more flexible reaction, the appearance of interest elements in independent initiatives and, what is inseparable from this, a better differentiation of people according to performance. All this has brought to the surface what was, for example, the basic conflict hiding in the reform and mechanism debates, that differentiation according to performance is indispensable for increasing economic efficiency but at the same time it becomes a source of social inequalities, and this comes into conflict with the "leveling" aspirations deeply rooted in public thinking. In the interest of resolving this conflict we must assume the supplemental tensions accompanying an increase in income differences, the resolution of which promises greater achievement in the longer run. The political system can aid our progress with an open and balanced treatment of these problems.

The way to solve these problems can be seen well if we trace a few problems of the political system.

II.

When analysing the political system an interpretation of the guiding, leading role of the party takes first place, and not for reasons of protocol. If we wanted to tersely formulate the errors of earlier periods in connection with this then we might say that they expressed themselves primarily in the idea and practice of the omnipotence of the party. At the political-organizational level this formulation was necessarily accompanied by an underestimation or even negation of the allies of the worker class and of other institutions of the political system, by the use of incorrect methods, by the giving of orders and even despotism. Although we may have broken with this formulation in principle, the idea or ideal of party omnipotence also raises deeper interdependencies.

On the one hand it is obvious that under certain circumstances every question may have political significance, and in such cases the party cannot deprive itself of the possibility of taking a position. On the other hand it certainly seems necessary to somehow circumscribe the activity of the party, because it follows from the central place it occupies in the political system

that there is a constant danger that its activity will spread to everything, and even take the place of other motive elements. We must certainly agree with the position that the links of the party with other organs cannot be defined according to the themes to be decided, making a list of which questions belong to the party and which do not. But neither does it seem superfluous to try to outline, in a general way, definite spheres of questions, and especially ways of approaching them, which characterize the activity of the party.

The relationship of party and state has been the subject of debates for a quarter century. It is obvious that both serve the same goals and, in essence, work on the solution of the same tasks. But it must be seen that government, which involves the use of legal, authoritative and administrative tools, is one thing and the political leading role, the essence of which is orientation, providing a direction and organizing-supervising activity done on the basis of this, is another. We have rejected the earlier and crudely simplifying thesis that the party and state are one. And although we have done much since then for the correct development of these relationships in a proper way at various levels, still we have not been able to demonstrate or define in proper depth the complexity and differentiation of these extraordinarily important links.

Our basic aspiration is expressed by the thesis that the party should concentrate our attention on setting political directions while state organs should concentrate our attention on the independent application and realization of them. In accordance with this, in the past quarter century and especially in the last 10 years, we have deliberately reduced the concrete factual or numeric prescriptions in party documents, in the resolutions of the Central Committee and of congresses, in order to expand the independence and scope of movement of state organs. We have set in order the links and mutual representation between leading party and state organs. As a result of all this the profiles have become more sharp and distinct from one another. But the question is far from solved, so it is not without foundation that it concerns us even today.

The studies of recent years have directed our attention to a number of important interdependencies. Reality itself has required making precise the thesis mentioned, that the party formulates directions while the independence of state organs appears in execution. Despite its basically correct content this thesis, in such a formulation, is one-sided and simplifying because, for example, the activity of the government is different from and more than this. It is an autonomous, sovereign body which is subordinate organizationally only to the national assembly, the supreme organ of the people's power. While it acts in the direction and spirit of the party's policy it is also, by working out an independent position in concrete cases, a participant in and former of policy. This role can only be strengthened by the practice that the leading organs of the party also propose and study questions considered important.

Our recognized position that the party cannot pass resolutions binding on them applies to state organs also; its policy must be realized by virtue of the action of communists working there. But it must be seen that the linkage here is much closer; the position taken by the party has an effect more directly in these organs. For this reason, among others, the leading organs of the party supplement and make more precise their pertinent positions with the important motif that the communists and non-communists work independently in these organs; they are not merely executors but also initiators and active realizers of their tasks. Determining where the lines are drawn which link the "carrying out" of policy with "independent activity" or separate the one from the other would require a more profound study. But it can certainly be established from the analyses thus far that in probably no small number of cases it would represent worthy progress if in concrete cases we would completely eliminate the taking of a prior party position as something unnecessary, as something which burdens the party organizations superfluously, and willy-nilly binds or restricts the independence of those working in state organs and puts a brake on their initiative.

Party and state organs necessarily act in parallel and deal with many of the same questions. But the question which can be asked, probably justly, is whether the degree of parallelism which can be experienced today is justified. Many facts suggest that the degree of parallelism is excessive at virtually every level. It is as if both sides were haunted by the habit that the correct management of affairs is certain only if the party organ at the appropriate level participates directly in them. And even if we disregard the degree, the methods of approach must certainly differ from one another in the case of parallel discussion. Even if the same questions are involved, the party and state organs must discuss them differently, with a different approach, in different detail and for different purposes. Even if this has been our attempt, our efforts thus far have brought relatively modest results. It would be difficult to establish from many of the presentations whether they were prepared by a party or a state organ. In unjustifiably many places they discuss the same material in parallel and not with the greatest degree of effectiveness. This is at once the positive and negative side of the development of our democratism. It is certainly positive that broad consultation, requesting opinions, has become the practice; but the sameness of the character of the materials is negative, because it may hold back more worthy debate in the given bodies. And what is no less important, it washes out responsibility. In the party apparatus and bodies the danger threatens again and again that the approach is excessively detailed, almost of state-official character. In connection with this we must turn special attention to those differences which derive from the differing tasks of central and local party or state organs. It is obvious that the theoretical-political guidance of the party appears one way at the regime level and another at local levels.

Because of the well known world economic effects and our own difficulties our economy today is in a delicate situation from many aspects, one might say in an extraordinary situation. Without doubt this requires irregular methods

and extraordinary measures. As a result of this the party today is forced to deal, at every level, with a good deal more concrete economic matters than earlier. This is a constraint which the party does not assume with pleasure but from which it is difficult to turn. But here again the degree requires very careful weighing. The facts suggest that in practice this "constraint" again frequently mixes party and state activity together to a degree which cannot be justified even by the extraordinary situation. This can be observed at every level, even in the work of the central apparatus among others.

The present situation is the result of changes from many sides and so it requires a more serious rethinking. The good intention of the efforts cannot be disputed; in many cases the more direct intervention is the offering of supplemental aid, sometimes indispensable. It is also a frequent phenomenon that the state, social or economic organs or units demand a more direct party position because this increases their feeling of security, sometimes making possible a sharing of responsibility, partly shifting it. But we should leave no doubt that over the long run these methods are not the most useful or the most efficient. What is desired is a combination of the solutions now forced upon us and those considered correct for the long run which--contrary to the trend of the recent past--will decrease the ratio of direct intervention.

We must deliberately seek out and support forms of guidance and management which give great scope to independence and at the same time meet the requirements of flexibility and efficiency. It cannot be excluded that we are underestimating the possibilities of these. Perhaps we do not have enough faith that independent, responsible decisions may bring to the surface supplemental value and mobilizing strength; perhaps we are not encouraging this plainly enough. It certainly appears that we might build on independence more courageously, because this would correspond better to our long term aspirations and goals. The signs are that the idea of the primacy of direct guidance has struck deeper roots in people's awareness than we had thought; from which it follows that if we do not struggle against it the old attitude may revive.

This sphere of problems can also be approached in the interdependencies of centralization-decentralization, central guidance-local independence and elected organs-apparatuses. We have regarded an unjustified degree of centralization and an exaggerated role for the apparatus unambiguously as one of the causes of the errors committed in the earlier period. We feel that our position in principle is valid even amidst the changed circumstances, doubtless becoming more difficult, and it merits greater attention than heretofore.

In general we can rightly say that the relationship between the elected organs and the apparatuses has developed basically in accordance with our principles, but we must immediately add that undesirable changes could be experienced in this area also in recent years. These unambiguously

strengthened the position of the apparatuses, and frequently to an unjustified degree. When seeking the causes we must note first of all that in part this can be attributed to objective factors and not primarily to the bad style of work of individual people. It is a world phenomenon that professional guidance, and the role of the apparatuses supplying it, is increasing. But this must appear or be realized in a more profound situation analysis, in a helpful orientation, in ensuring the conditions for work (or in aiding the work) and in supervision but not, if possible, in direct intervention. For this reason it is certainly worthy of note that frequently great power is concentrated in the hands of the apparatuses against their will, one might say "through no fault of their own," and a practice of having an immediate say is realized in a direct or indirect form. The leaders of various areas of economic and social life, even in their persons, depend on the apparatuses to an exaggerated degree and often this is a limiting factor even in the actual realization of the existing organizational independence.

We must preserve everything which is indisputably positive in the intentions and work methods of the apparatuses, but as a whole we must strive to gradually change the situation. Public life supervision over administrative work must be improved and broadened. In the interest of this in the state area, in the course of execution, we must support ourselves better on the elected organs and must strengthen the theoretical-orienting character of party guidance. If it is true that too many resolutions deal with each question (which is probable) then it is also obvious that preparation of them gives no little work to the apparatuses. Operative business in the daily sense is also accompanied by much work. It is in the interest of the apparatuses themselves that these burdens be reduced. If they had more time for situation analysis, for thinking through progressive proposals and detailed work they might be able to offer much greater aid to the elected organs. This might also be the most effective antidote against a shift in the direction of exaggerated operative activity.

In the interest of making tangible the complexity of the problem and making the picture more complete we must add that the so-called "omnipotence" of the party is, in reality and in the course of concrete work, far from being so great or of the character which many think and say and which it may sometimes appear from the outside. It is quite possible that state organs prepare the greater part of the party resolutions, with the professionalism appropriate for state purposes. The economic possibilities are circumscribed, for the most part social policy considerations get a smaller place and role in reports and decisions, and thus the opportunities for choice by the leading organs of the party are very limited and often can progress only on a set path in a very narrow zone.

Looking at the matter more closely it turns out that some of the party resolutions express only the approval or agreement of the party organ involved, but do not contain an independent position. At least two conclusions follow from this. On the one hand it would be useful to consider

whether, in the case of such resolutions, there was even any need to maintain the party character, whether the state position was enough. On the other hand this circumstance also shows that political guidance by the party of a more theoretical character, weighing various interests and views, might aid a better delimitation also. Our principles concerning the activities of party and state, their cooperation and the relationship and independence of the two organs have stood the test of time, but our tasks in this area remain at least as timely also.

III.

Clarifying the place and role of the social organs and a correct development of the relationship attaching to them are outstanding achievements of our quarter century development. The party had to change that earlier practice in which the independence of the social organs was only apparently realized while in reality these organs were subordinate and played only an implementing role. Obviously this distortion greatly contributed to the fact that the mass contacts of the party faltered and loosened. Our party recognized that it was primarily the social organs which could form a link with the majority of the workers--and with the non-party people making up more than 90 percent of the populace. Consequently it considered it necessary to interpret more correctly the so-called linkage or "transmission" role and to reformulate the dual function of the social organs--especially the trade unions--in aiding socialist construction and representing the interests of the membership.

Our conception of the social organs has been further enriched and differentiated in the past two decades. Ever greater emphasis has been given to the idea that carrying out their dual task also means their active participation in developing policy and in exercising power. In other words, we should regard them not as one-directional transmission belts, from above downward, but rather as important, independently functioning organs of the political system with broad rights, organs which participate in the constant forming and realization of policy, while one of their most important tasks always remains the representation and defense of the interests of the membership. In our homeland the trade unions are the largest social or mass organizations. Their sphere of tasks has expanded significantly in the past quarter century. They appear as partners at the level of Council of Ministers and SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], ministries and branch trade unions, and factory supervisory committees and factory triangle or quadrangle, and our laws regulate their rights. In some questions they have veto rights, in others the right of agreement and in yet others the right of consultation or having a say. Their voice is listened to in deciding every more important social-political question. They participate in the process of preparing state and economic decisions and in the work of the party and social forums and thus are significant factors of our public life.

The further development of their activity requires before all else an increase in their independence and initiative. It is desirable and justified that they give their opinion about the more significant reports prepared by party and state organs and that they pass judgment on them. At the same time it is no less important that they work out an independent position concerning problems arising in the course of active politicization of their own membership, and that they take the initiative in doing so. It is also important that, in order to make interest representation and protection more effective, they should turn greater care to recognizing, ranking, fighting out and harmonizing the various trade and branch interests in their own ranks so that, in their discussions with central government organs, they can represent more effectively what is most important at the given time. The internal mechanism for this latter activity is not yet adequately developed and its functioning is not lively enough. Both the taking of independent positions and the interest harmonization process carried out within their own ranks could give more profound content to the internal life of the trade unions, and it would be desirable if this were also given more worthy political content. It continues to be a problem--the trade unions have formulated this at their own congresses also--that there is still much organizational spinning of wheels, routine and formalism about which, I am afraid, we talk more than we do to oppose it. This certainly holds back the appropriate activity of the trade union members and may contribute to the fact that they regard their membership as a formality. The results which we have achieved in this area in 25 years provide a good foundation and appropriate frameworks and can serve as a starting point for strengthening the activity of the trade unions in a more worthy manner.

The work of social organs in general has become more likely in recent decades. The KISZ [Communist Youth Federation], TOT [National Council of Producer Cooperatives], SZOVOSZ [National Federation of Cooperatives] and OKISZ [National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives] have dealt more sharply with interest representation, have acted with greater initiative in economic-social questions and have become a serious factor in our public life.

One of the novel phenomena of the development of our political system is that about 600 registered societies and federations operate in our homeland with the most varied goals, but they are all united in that they regard it as their task to represent and protect the unique interests of their members. It is a known fact that even members of federations and societies conducting activities which are not directly political are bound together by some unique common interest. Searching for areas of action and common solutions favorable to them is obviously accompanied by an expression of interests and thus is a process which has an effect in the sphere of politics-ideology-awareness also. While conducting their own special activities and striving for the best realization of their interests they come, inevitably, into contact with processes of branch or even national significance and in a certain segment meet with the whole functioning of the political system. By seeking a place they are getting social, public life practice and thus become forums for public life, citizenship and political activity. Many of

these societies and federations gave primary cells which embrace the chief areas of our public life also.

The activity of such associations and societies has strengthened in recent years. The various federations, especially, have become arenas for public life activity, productive debates, the clash and harmonization of interests and views and thus for a worthy formation of policy. Their independence has broadened, which is expressed also in the fact that they are working with state organs in deciding more and more important questions. Independently or jointly they make recommendations for filling various posts and functions and for awarding titles and decorations. All this is an important element in broadening our social democratism.

It is also a sign of the enrichment of our political life that the work of the press, radio, television and mass communication has become more lively also. More and more studies and articles raising substantive, independent ideas, and arguing with one another, are appearing in the columns of the press, are voiced in radio programs or are appearing on the screen. All this proves the richness and variety of views and the possibility for the clash of differing opinions. This encouraging and palpable effervescence is gratifying and, in regard to its essence, is an unambiguously positive phenomenon. At the same time, it prompts thinking about new questions and raises new tasks.

The party has tried deliberately and for its part has done everything to develop a sincere, free atmosphere in which various views can come to the surface and clash. It is also self-evident that among the many sorts of views there are also those which do not agree with the position or worldview of the party, but in this regard also we must be consistent with our basic principle formulated a quarter century ago. We need every opinion and view which advances our common cause, which has an improving intent, but at the same time a careful and, if necessary, critical analysis of and reckoning with them is indispensable also. It is the basic function of the party, the essence of its leading role, to integrate and synthesize again and again the multiplicity of views coming to the surface in the interest of building every valuable element into policy and aiding a clarification of views by providing a guide. But this aspiration cannot be conceived of as a one-directional link, cannot be interpreted as if the party had every necessary answer in advance and was correcting the errants like some sort of teacher. The entire party takes part in the exchange of ideas and is itself constantly studying and learning. But it cannot transfer to anyone its mission and responsibility to attempt the combination and synthesis at the level of current information, because only by forming its own position can it preserve its ability to orient these processes and give aid to practice. If we have a relative backwardness then it can be felt in just this area.

We see it as our task to encourage this very positive process, and go further. We see many sorts of possibility for this--in broadening the openness of trade

union activity, in providing better information about variants, arguments and counter-arguments in the course of preparing party and state decisions, in paying more careful attention to expert opinions, in a better inclusion of factory leaders and middle-level leaders and colleagues of chief authorities when developing positions. But simultaneous with this we must significantly increase our efforts to improve the orienting and synthesizing activity aiding practical utilization.

The relationship between politics and science merits special attention in connection with this. We have achieved significant results in this area in past decades. A number of party resolutions of great import--concerning the reform of the economic mechanism, science policy guiding principles, the status of public education--were born as a result of the fruitful cooperation of representatives of science and politics. But from both sides we constantly hear a demand to improve contacts. Science is demanding that the political leadership make better use of research results and rely on these when making decisions. It is a frequent objection that some decisions are not sufficiently well founded professionally. The political leadership--agreeing with the foregoing--has frequently expressed its desire that science turn more toward practice, regarding it as a guide when selecting research methods also so that the results can be used more directly.

There is much to take to heart in both lines of argument. We cannot regard it as accidental that the debates in connection with this question are about 20 years old and in these two decades there has been repeated mention of the need to build up a consultant system, to establish common professional premiums and to systematically formulate the needs of the political leadership in the interest of raising the level of preparation of political decisions. The long and medium range national research plans already reflect this intention, but this is only the first step.

In any case we must strive to make the link between science and politics closer and develop ever new forms. We must make these bonds closer, but we must also make this relationship more objective. If the link between the political leadership and science is subjective, if it is organized on the basis of personal considerations, then we may meet with the basic problems of the political system, criticized in the foregoing, in a scientific form and in scientific guise. But if we make use of this possibility correctly it will give the leadership a feeling of security and decisions can be well founded.

A number of solutions offer themselves. Before all else the inclusion of experts and the clash of differing views must be made more open. It would seem useful to organizationally regulate or institutionalize the collection of expert opinions and counter-opinions, and perhaps we need not recoil from the idea of making this obligatory in some definite way, which might make the preparation of decisions more objective.

When forming its policies the party is striving to bring in various interests and institutions expressing interests, in accordance with their actual social

importance, bring them into the development of political processes. This is also a key question of the political system, which can aid the achieving of our social goals with appropriate effectiveness only if it ensures the institutionalized expression and objective consideration of interest differences.

In the process of preparing decisions this obviously requires the appropriate consideration of possible counter-opinions and counter-points. It requires an enhancement of the social supervision of the state by increasing the role of representative and social organs. It means a development of the institutional and independent forms of democracy, the development of the relationship of science and politics described above, a better inclusion of experts, the more effective clash of their opinions, supervision of the activity of the apparatuses and a strengthening of the orienting, guiding role of the party. All of this together could be an important guarantee that the political system will aid more effectively the solution of the tasks standing before us in socialist construction amidst circumstances which have become more difficult and more complex.

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CSO: 2500/11

GYPSIES' ADJUSTMENT TO SOCIETY ANALYZED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 8-9, 82 pp 57-67

[Article by Mrs. Istvan Kozak, PhD.: "Our Gypsy Population's Integration Into Our Society"]

[Excerpt] From the Liberation to 1960

The liberation also opened up opportunities for the gypsies to build a decent life for themselves. According to our constitution, all Hungarian citizens are equally entitled to work, education, advancement, etc. This change granted by law, however, signaled only the beginning of the change by declaring that the relationship between the new order and the gypsies would be based on equality.

As it is well known, the extensive industrial development of the 10 to 15 years following the liberation brought upward and even multi-step mobility for masses--about 2 million--of people.

Large masses of gypsies were unable--and in fact could not have been able--to take advantage of their democratic rights, for most of them were complete or at least half illiterates living in gypsy colonies outside our villages and cities, whom these political, economic and social changes never even reached and who, therefore, were unable to comprehend their significance.

Their possibilities were further restricted by subjective factors. Under the pre-liberation social system, differences between gypsies and non-gypsies had become so deeply ingrained that they could not be rapidly eliminated by way of decrees and resolutions. One manifestation of this was a sense of distrust on the part of the gypsies toward non-gypsies, a feeling which is clearly reflected in an old gypsy saying: "Trust no strangers, for although they may smile they make laws behind your back to hang you."; another was a general distrust toward gypsies and their work. During this period a great many enterprises were reluctant to hire them, which also had to do with the fact that there were substantial manpower surpluses even among Hungarians. At the same time, the number of people whose traditional professions were already bearly enough to make ends meet was gradually decreasing.

These unskilled gypsies--who earlier had been accustomed to doing odd jobs or to working in totally unregulated traditional professions--found it difficult or

totally impossible to adjust to industrial work discipline. Their physical condition also affected their employment opportunities; as a result of childhood privation and unsanitary housing conditions many of them were in poor physical condition and health and hence were unable to perform steady work.

Their possibilities of permanent employment were further restricted by the fact that there were not many job opportunities in the vicinity of their places of residence. Almost 80 percent of these gypsies were rural residents living in the countryside where virtually the only job opportunity was in agriculture. As it is well known, the transformation of the rural society and the elimination of poverty began in 1945 with the redistribution of the land. The gypsies, with a few exceptions, were left out of this redistribution. And later they were not allowed to join the cooperative because they had no land. It is also a fact, however, that this could also have had to do with the peculiarities surrounding the development of our cooperatives. Our peasants created a closed world where "outsiders" were seldom allowed to enter and where peasants from the "upper end" of the village were often even reluctant to join with those from the "lower end." We must also take into account, furthermore, that as a result of the socialist reorganization of agriculture a significant part of our peasant work force was freed, and that between 1949 and 1963 almost 900,000 people left agriculture to go to work in industry. Consequently, there was a large pool of available manpower and it was not easy to find a job. These factors also help explain why most of our gypsies were only able to take, i.e., receive odd jobs in the 1950's.

Hence, a large segment of the gypsies became left out of the succession of revolutionary changes which characterized the social and structural realignment that mobilized such large masses of people between the end of the 1940's and the end of the 1950's. As a result of their unique situation, most of them were unable to keep up with our general development, which led to even greater differences. Although the Cultural Association of Hungarian Gypsies had been in existence since 1957, it was unable to fundamentally change their serious social problems.

The change came in 1961 when, having thoroughly examined the situation of the gypsies, the Politburo of the MSZMP passed a resolution which laid down the most important tasks. By this time, the differences in the standard and manner of living between the majority of the gypsies and our non-gypsy population were already clearly visible and were growing virtually by leaps and bounds. Consequently, our main goal was to eliminate their social disadvantages, to improve their living conditions, to end their isolation and to help them to become a part of our society as a whole.

In the opinion of our party and government, the elimination of the backwardness of our gypsy population is primarily a socio-political and social-cultural problem which can only be solved with the cooperation of our entire society. Improving the gypsies' employment and living conditions, raising their culture, registering gypsy children for school, improving their circumstances and conditions of health and eliminating the prejudices felt toward them were defined by resolutions at the highest levels as the chief tasks to be carried out in order to enhance their integration.

Things Already Achieved and Those Yet to Come

During the past 20 years, as a result of party and government resolutions as well as central and local measures, our gypsies' living conditions have undergone revolutionary changes. It would not be an overstatement to say that during this short period our gypsies have made a greater step forward than at any other time during their entire history. Before we demonstrate this, however, let us examine the regional distribution and a few demographic characteristics of our gypsy population.

According to 1977-1978 local surveys, the number of gypsies was placed at 325,000 people. Their distribution per megye is uneven. The number of gypsies is the highest in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye and Szabolcs-Szatmar megye, and the lowest in Győr-Sopron megye and Fejér megye. One of the characteristics of their residential distribution is that of the country's 3,212 settlements 1955, that is, 62 percent have gypsy residents.

The ratio of city and village dwellers among them also differ from the national situation. For according to 1971 data, while our population was about evenly divided between our cities and villages, 78 percent of the gypsies lived in villages and only 22 percent in the cities. As in the case of other social processes, the influx of gypsies to the cities started 15 to 20 years late when compared to our population as a whole, in other words it has only begun to pick up during the past 10 years. Naturally, the factors which motivate them to urbanize are generally the same as they are in the case of other groups of our population; the possibility of finding better housing, more advantageous and local employment opportunities, more favorable educational conditions for their children, etc.

There are also significant differences in the age-composition of gypsies and non-gypsies. According to data gathered by the Sociological Research Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] the situation in 1971 was as follows (in percentages):

	<u>Gypsies</u>	<u>Non-Gypsies</u>
between the ages of 0 to 14	44.2	22.3
between the ages 15 to 59	48.0	61.3
over 60	7.8	16.4

At that time nearly one-half of our gypsies were minors, i.e., the proportion of minors among them was twice as high as among non-gypsies. At the same time, very few of them reach the average age.

Although during the past 10 years we have seen some changes in these ratios, the characteristic differences have remained unchanged. Megye data show that compared to earlier years the number of births among gypsies has significantly declined. Among others, for example, in Baranya megye it dropped from 42.6 thousandths in 1962 to 28 thousandths in 1977, and in Somogy megye from 37 thousandths in 1975 to 26.6 thousandths in 1977. Similar tendencies can be observed in every megye. While we do not have any available data regarding the

age-composition of gypsies at the beginning of the 1960's, we can safely say that if it differed from earlier ratios it was probably a shift toward an even greater proportion of young people. Looking at their living conditions of 20 years ago--which can be considered one of the legacies of our pre-war conditions--in this context enables us to be even more realistic in assessing the results of the past 20 years.

The following situations were characteristic of 1961: 70 percent of our gypsies were living under inhumane conditions, in so-called socially unfit colonies, in structures (hovels) unsuitable for habitation. Most of these colonies fell outside the administrative boundaries of settlements, often at distances of several kilometers, and were almost completely without communal and infrastructural services. Only 33 percent of our working-age gypsy residents were steadily employed, consequently, most gypsy families faced an uncertainty of existence and led their lives accordingly. Most adult gypsies were illiterate, a part of their school-age children were not enrolled in school at all, and of those who attended only 13 percent ever got as far as the upper grades of grade school and only 2 to 3 percent of them were able to complete the eighth grade. In the kindergartens there were rarely any gypsy children. Terrible housing conditions, malnutrition and ignorance all had an effect on their state of health as evidenced by the frequent incidents of certain illnesses among them, by their early incapacitation and high infant mortality rates, by the backwardness of their children and by their premature aging.

Given their living conditions and their extremely underdeveloped state of consciousness, I believe that despite the social assistance they have received the results achieved so far and the changes that have occurred in their conditions and manner of living have forced our gypsies to make some super-human adjustments and accommodations which not too many ethnic groups have been able to make within such a short period of time.

By the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, working age (gypsy) males were working in similar proportions as non-gypsies. At first most of them were employed in the construction industry, today, however, they can also be found in other areas of industry and in recent years even in the tertiary branches. Compared to earlier years, in the second half of the 1970's there was also a growing proportion of them working in agriculture. While in 1970 only 30 percent of our gypsy women were employed, today almost 50 percent of them are working.

We have successfully eliminated most of the colonies. Between 1965 and the end of 1981, 18,000 families took advantage of OTP National Savings Bank loans earmarked for the elimination of the colonies and moved from the colonies to newly built or purchased homes. There have been about the same number of people who have turned to other programs (inland water loans, construction of workers' quarters, construction of miners' quarters, purchasing of residential buildings in the villages, state-owned apartments, etc.), or have worked entirely on their own to leave the colony and to move into healthier and better circumstances. Therefore, of our estimated 360,000 gypsies today only 14 percent, that is to say 50,000 people live in colonies. (Naturally it

would be more comforting to be able to report that we have completely eliminated all gypsy colonies.)

In the megyes 95 to 100 percent of the school-age children are enrolled in school. As recently as 1970, still only 2 to 3 percent of our kindergarten-age gypsy children were attending kindergarten--by 1980 we have succeeded in placing 50 percent, that is 15,000 of them in kindergartens. There has also been steady progress in our grade schools (although the rate of this progress could be even faster if, for example, in addition to the satisfaction of having attained their goal our educators were also given methodological assistance). In 1970 15.3 percent (2,409), in 1978 28 percent (4,118) and in 1982 more than 40 percent (5,075) of our gypsy children registered before age 8 got to 8th grade while still of school age. One of the achievements of recent years is that an increasing number of them are being admitted into our secondary educational institutions (presently 2,000 to 3,000 of them are continuing their studies), and although slowly, the number of college and university graduates among them is growing.

Having a permanent job opportunity, a steady income, better housing conditions and education for their children have changed the living conditions of our entire gypsy population and have also affected their relationship with non-gypsies. It is true that within these average figures there is a considerable spread; there are many settlements where both in their standard and in their way of living the gypsies have caught up with the surrounding population, in other words they live and work like any other Hungarian citizen. At the same time, it is also a fact that there is still a great number of them who from one or several points of view--i.e., lack of professional training, low income, many dependents per wage earner, unfavorable housing conditions, etc.--continue to be at a significant disadvantage compared to our society's average.

This, however, is no longer perceived as a kind of common "gypsy disadvantage." The changes that have occurred in our gypsies' lives have tied them to the various strata and groups of our society (i.e., according to their position in the division of labor, to their settlement conditions, to whether they have small or large families); consequently, the characteristics of these groups and strata can also be used to describe the social and economic situation of these various groups of gypsies, which of course is not the same as complete social integration which is a much longer and a much more complex process; this is more like the first truly significant step in that direction. This was also expressed in the 1979 resolution of the MSZMP, which called attention to the great differentiation among gypsies.

What continues to reinforce, i.e., to preserve this disadvantageous situation is the still widely held prejudice toward gypsies, and on the part of the gypsies, their preoccupation with living out their gypsy character, often carrying it almost as a stigma. In the social consciousness a person's identity as a "gypsy" still does not register the same way as, for example, being a Slovak or a German. This, of course, also has anthropological reasons which despite subjective intentions and political efforts will continue to make themselves felt for a long time; eliminating them will require a significant transformation of our social consciousness.

Overall, therefore, the tremendous changes that have occurred in our gypsies' lives must be considered to be of historic importance, even though we know that when examined in terms of the culture and living conditions of our population as a whole, there has not been a significant narrowing of differences. For we must also take into account that what the gypsies have had to catch up to has not been a kind of stagnating social structure but one which throughout this period has also undergone some far-reaching changes and in which the entire population's standard of living has significantly increased. Contrary to earlier notions, we should also be more realistic in assessing the extent of development a given people or ethnic group is capable of within the short period of 20 years. It is a historic fact, for example, that it has taken several centuries for the Hungarians to reach their present level of civilization. Or let us take the Kumans, for example, who arrived late and for a long time insisted on keeping their semi-nomadic life style and who were only gradually willing to adopt the material culture of the land-cultivating peasantry of the plains living nearby.

Most of our present day tasks concerning the gypsies, therefore, are of a different quality than they were in previous decades. Our problem is not, as it used to be, getting the adults to look for work or finding them jobs, but preventing them from becoming stuck at the unskilled worker level. In the area of education, the problem is no longer getting them to register, but to place an increasing number of their small children in kindergartens, to improve the effectiveness of their education or to get the schools to take into account these children's unique situation (for example, the fact that almost 30 percent of them did not learn Hungarian as their mother tongue); and to help an increasing number of them to complete grade school so that they can continue their studies. Theoretically, our specially established gypsy classes should make it possible to eliminate the unique disadvantages these children have to face. Unfortunately, in practice instead of helping the children to advance and adjust, in many areas--due to equipment and personnel deficiencies and to the fact that their quality of education has been well below the level of "mixed" schools--these classes (schools) have only regenerated backwardness. Gypsy classes, therefore, should be formed only in those areas where they can create conditions which in every respect are more favorable for helping children learn and for eliminating existing disadvantages. And even in those cases, only until they overcome those disadvantages (1 to 2 years). We must not forget that childhood relations--or the lack of them--between gypsies and non-gypsies can determine their attitudes toward one another for life.

Similarly, less and less often does improving their housing conditions mean merely the elimination of colonies; the problems and tasks which occupy most of our gypsy population are increasingly the same as those facing other strata and groups of the population.

Ways and Possibilities of Integration

At the same time, as a result of the easing, and for many the total disappearance of social disadvantages and of their diversity with respect to their living conditions, life styles and culture, there has been an increasing number of cultural and consciousness-related questions coming to the forefront which

are just as important to successful integration as the solving of social problems.

Specifically, in the case of the gypsies this is reflected in their desire--and so far this coincides with the needs of society--to adjust and to find their place in our society. This desire has taken two basic outward forms. One frequently found form is an attempt by individuals, families and settlement communities to deny their roots and to try, as soon as possible, to blend in with the "Hungarians" and to live "just like" the Hungarians. They refuse to associate with gypsies whose level of consciousness is below theirs and want to assimilate as soon as possible. It is not so much their ambition which presents a problem; after all, I believe that people whose ancestors had lived in Hungary for centuries and who today are all Hungarian citizens have every right to claim to be "exclusively" Hungarian.

What causes the conflict is that this shift in self-consciousness is not simply a matter of determination. The fact is, that as long as an individual is known to be a gypsy by those living around him he will always be considered to be that if for no other reason, because of the aforementioned anthropological reasons. The individual also feels this, and as a result he often suffers from inferiority complex. He does not dare to consider himself an equal citizen, and even if he succeeds in breaking out of his gypsy environment, he must constantly fear that they might find out about his origin. In other words; those who would like to assimilate constantly keep running into brick walls.

Another thing which hinders overnight assimilation is that the gypsy families who leave the colonies are once again finding themselves--although under more modern circumstances--living the "life of gypsies." At the same time, however, it should also be noted that the break-up of the traditional gypsy communities, their material advancement and other changes have often led to deviant manifestations and have brought with them a disproportionately higher increase in incidents of alcoholism, disorderly conduct and various criminal activities among gypsies than elsewhere. This can also foster prejudice and hinder integration.

The other--and perhaps the more realistically possible--outward form of this desire to assimilate has been a quest to find oneself, a determination to become conscious of one's own value, in other words the realization by an increasing number of people that "value differences" must be determined not by one's descent or ethnic status, but by his character and behavior. These people do not deny their history or their origin even after "breaking out" of their gypsy surroundings and they are searching for cultural and life style-related values which can be preserved even after the elimination of poverty and ignorance. They want integration without having to deny their gypsy heritage.

Assimilation, i.e., "integration" by preserving the ethnic consciousness has been hindered by some extremist views regarding the gypsy language, gypsy culture and the gypsy way of life. The proponents of these views feel that forced integration is the only acceptable way of getting the gypsies to adapt (even when they speak of integration!). In other words, it is not just their

backwardness, their poverty and their in many ways disadvantageous situation which they consider necessary to eliminate, but also the gypsy language, i.e., all of their cultural traditions claiming that everything that is gypsy is bad and therefore is an obstacle to progress.

On the short run--as we have already mentioned--integration is not a realistic goal. The way to help our gypsies to adapt and to become self-starters is precisely by familiarizing ourselves with their history, their work culture and by getting non-gypsies to acquaint themselves with and to recognize those ethnic values which deserve recognition. Hence, the gypsy language, their folklore and their love of songs and music could be given greater emphasis in helping them adapt. By this naturally I am not trying to say that we do not have to teach backward gypsies the same things which we would normally also have to teach our backward non-gypsies, i.e., everything which help to make their lives more complete and more modern; we must also teach them the basic moral norms of our society, but not by "wiping out" their valuable traditions in the process. Recognizing the positive aspects of these traditions will undoubtedly make it easier for us to deal with even a certain degree of cultural and social backwardness, but most importantly, it will give the individual subjectively decidable alternatives of social integration.

It follows from what has been said so far, that we cannot put an equation mark between the elimination of social differences and integration, although the narrowing of social differences must be considered to be the first and most important step in the process of integration. Hence even with the positive changes that have occurred in the gypsies' living conditions, it is justifiable to talk about the difficulties connected with their integration, especially since integration is a process which is much more complex and which can be interpreted in more ways than impatient critics may think. For example, from the point of view of citizens' rights and duties everyone can be considered integrated who respect the laws of our society, even those who are in a socially disadvantageous situation and happen to live in a hovel in a gypsy colony outside the village limits unless they do so voluntarily to remain isolated. But integration may also be looked at in terms of our entire society from the point of view of their position in the division of labor. I feel that in order for us to be able to talk about the full integration of the gypsies in this respect, their participation in the hierarchy of the social division of labor and public life must be just as differentiated as the social average. At the same time, perhaps the most important determinant of integration--as I have already mentioned--is subjective intuition. A person can only be integrated among people who accept him. Nor is it all the same whether there are any conditions for their admissions and what those conditions are like.

Rather than giving a summary, I would like to emphasize that the "gypsy question" is much more complex than the proponents of quick solutions think, but also that the party and government resolutions regarding this question are beginning to show results. Our country's gypsy policy has also received recognition even from the Western countries. Integration, however, is a process involving many factors which it is our duty to promote but which we must not try to rush. In order to enhance the integration of the gypsies we need--instead of looking down and lowering ourselves to them or making gestures and passing judgment over them--to get a more objective understanding of their situation and their possibilities, to be more tolerant of the fact that they are "different" and last but not least, to accept them without prejudice.

KOROM LECTURES ON CREATIVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC THINKING

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Oct 82 pp 3-9

[Article by Mihaly Korom, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee: "Creative Thinking is a Condition for Our Success," abridged text of a talk given on 1 September 1982 at the annual opening celebration of the Political Academy]

[Text] Our party has always turned special attention to that activity taking place within the walls of the Political Academy, because it is our conviction that work and study are closely linked in the life of communists. The ability to think creatively is an indispensable condition of our practical work. Especially today, when we meet, in addition to the positive elements of our life, with phenomena which must be analysed responsibly and with great care.

It is often said these days that we are doing our socialist construction work amidst external and internal conditions a good bit more difficult than earlier. This is not an empty phrase but an unalterable fact, a reality which affects our work and developmental conditions. Imperialism, primarily the general staff of aggressive American large capital and the Reagan regime expressing its intentions, has set itself the task of forcing back the forces of socialism and the national liberation movements and gaining superiority. It subordinates its entire policy to this goal. In essence this is why the trend of detente which developed in the 1970's stopped short, indeed why the significant results already achieved in this area have been seriously endangered. With its foreign economic policy the Reagan regime is deliberately wrecking the trade and cooperation links which came into being among countries with different social systems, or is trying to use them for blackmail in the interest of its political goals.

The striving of American imperialism for superiority is very dangerous despite its unrealistic nature. There is more than one example in history where adventurous world rule aspirations forced entire continents into serious conflicts or let loose conflagration and destruction on mankind. Thus the most important task of all the forces of socialism and progress today is to frustrate this dangerous trend deriving from the nature of imperialism.

This tendency, inclined toward adventurism, is unfolding in an atmosphere of serious crisis for the capitalist world economy. An army of 30 million unemployed has developed in the 24 economically developed capitalist countries, and this number increases month by month. The financial policy of the American regime is causing serious problems not only for us but also for its allies. With its embargo policy it wants to put a brake on the economic development of socialist countries or to exploit their difficulties to cause confusion. By stepping up the arms race, of virtually unexampled proportions, and with its efforts to upset the military balance of forces the extreme imperialist circles are trying to force the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community to increase their military expenditures and cause them economic and political difficulties.

The present aggressive trend of the American regime and certain of its allies is meeting with resistance not only from the socialist countries. The popular masses of the capitalist countries are opposing it, as are certain more sober western government circles, with more or less consistency. This is logical, for the American policy hurts not only our interests but also is opposed to the national interests of the developing countries and of a number of capitalist countries also.

The financial disturbances of the world economy have increased and in recent years there has been significant increase in the number of indebted countries or those forced to reschedule loan repayments. The United States of America and some of its allies, going beyond their manifestations sharpening international political and military relationships, have taken and are taking various restrictive measures on the economic level.

In the years standing before us also the political and economic situation of the world will be characterized by an uncertainty pregnant with tensions. We must reckon with the fact that, in addition to a number of other important tendencies, the struggle or competition between the two social-economic systems will take sharper forms as compared to the 1970's. We may also have to face the fact that because of the slowing in the growth of production and the becoming permanent of inflation some countries may react in a way which cannot be calculated in advance to the world economic processes, and this may produce unexpected situations.

The united action of progressive forces interested in maintaining peace and in international detente is of great significance in the development of the international situation; before all else we are thinking of the communist and labor movement and the anti-imperialist movement of the developing countries. Today the camp of these forces is still frequently divided in the interpretation of the situation which has developed around the world and in certain areas, although there is an increasing recognition that only together can we repulse the concentrated attack of imperialism. We will continue to work for the unity of the forces of peace and progress on bases of principle and will try to aid this with steps adjusted to the given possibilities.

The present aspects of the international situation influence the development of our life in many ways. It is well known that beginning with the end of the 1970's our economic policy has striven to restore the foreign economic balance and preserve the standard of living of the populace. The 12th congress put this task before us and it is still valid. Our efforts serving more efficient management are being realized in our economic guidance practice more fully than before. The national economic plans are more realistic and more flexible. The role of our regulator system has strengthened in increasing the requirements and transmitting the international changes--an encouraging and constraining role. Central economic guidance is more active and more consistent; the independence and responsibility of the enterprises have increased and they feel more the changes in economic conditions.

Our social order and domestic political situation are strong and basically balanced. But our economic situation--despite the improvement achieved in the area of the external balance--continues to be complex and difficult. Our dependence on the international division of labor and the interdependence of our economic development with world political and world economic processes have become increasingly obvious in recent years. The openness of our national economy has increased. The world economic conditions have changed radically, and are deteriorating further for us.

Looking toward the future, a few important economic policy conclusions derive from the development of our foreign economic contacts, from an evaluation of our situation and our reactions thus far and from the further changes to be expected in world economic conditions. The most important of them is that in the decade ahead our economic growth and the development of the standard of living will depend on the extent to which we are able to increase the adaptability of our economy to international circumstances and requirements, the extent to which we are able to increase economical export adjusted to foreign market needs. Creating and stabilizing the economic balance will require a differentiation in distribution greater than before and better tied to performance, but primarily it will require increased efforts in a substantial improvement of production and management. Increasing the performance capacity of our national economy makes necessary the putting into operation of new driving forces which are suitable for increasing the efficiency of the Hungarian economy. In accordance with this we must take steps aimed at modernizing planning and economic regulation and the organizational frameworks.

A swifter accomodation to the more difficult conditions requires well thought out, selective economic development, encouraging export and rational import management, which, because of the relatively modest economic growth, will require modifications in the degree and structure of the domestic use of national income. These modifications will affect the production sphere and the populace. In essence we are talking about increased mobilization of internal resources for the purpose of laying the foundations for economic development in the period ahead.

Our economic contacts with developed capitalist countries have become more difficult, in some cases more tense. The capitalist economic recession burdens primarily the export of our industrial products, and the weakness of our competitiveness plays a role in this also. Even maintaining the present foreign economic contacts in this relationship will require extraordinary efforts. Today and in the future CEMA is and will be the determining customer market and source of material, energy and technical imports for us. But our foreign economic difficulties cannot be solved by some sort of CEMA autarky.

A number of important articles cannot be obtained from CEMA countries, or can be obtained in minimal quantities, so our homeland and other socialist countries are forced to depend on capitalist imports. In a good many cases this import also plays an important role in the trade of the CEMA countries with one another, because it is built into export products going to them in the form of material, parts and technology.

As was said at the 36th session of CEMA, held in Budapest, the Hungarian economy has an elemental interest in alying the foundations for new forms of socialist economic integration and a qualitative renewal of cooperation. The fact that our countries have the same common problems understandably encourages -he effort to develop forms of cooperation which are more flexible and varied than earlier--including those relying on broader inter-enterprise contacts also. We trust that the economic cooperation of our countries will receive new impetus in the near future--despite the more difficult internal and international circumstances, or we might even say in response to the coercive force of them--and that this will aid the realization of our fundamental economic policy goals.

What has been said shows that we are faced and will be faced with a number of difficulties which we did not have to face earlier, or which we faced to an incomparably smaller degree. But this fact cannot serve as a cause for despair or faintheartedness, cannot lead to indecision or hesitation or a search for voluntarist solutions, even if from time to time we must take extraordinary measures in the straits of the economic situation. In this we are counting on the understanding of the entire populace, especially on the understanding of the party membership, and--we think--we can do so.

What is needed is for everyone to work honestly and with discipline in his own area of work, to help our better adjustment to realities. All this will require effective persuasive work on foundations of principle.

We can solve our economic tasks only if ideological activity comes better to the fore. We will not be able to overcome our difficulties without the united efforts of the broadest forces of the nation, a development of our alliance policy, a strengthening of socialist democracy, making socialist awareness and public thinking more profound. These, naturally, are not new insights; they are rooted in the quarter century experience of our party. Still, we must talk about them because this proven policy has accumulated a moral capital which we should not fear for in more difficult times; rather, on the contrary, we must add to it.

Hereafter also the 850,000 members of our party should not forget for one moment that socialism can only be the work of the entire people, that the socialist society can be built for and with the participation of every honest person who loves his homeland. It was our position heretofore also, and in the present situation we should emphasize it with even greater force, that the key question for the solution of the difficult tasks before us is maintaining and strengthening further--on the basis of mutual trust--the close contact between the party and the masses.

Weighing this, we can come to no other conclusion than this: It would be a political mistake if we were to feel now that we could get over the difficulties only by forcing democracy into the background. Heretofore also our party has divorced itself from such and similar views, and hereafter also it is not our intention to give up the program for a thought-out development of socialist democracy. It is our profound conviction that the big problems and difficulties can be gotten over not with less but rather with even more democracy. We must continue to take as our departure that the initiation of the citizen, having him know the situation, serves a rational will to act, while superfluous reserve, hiding the facts in obscurity, can be a source of confusion, irrational alienation, dejection and depression. We have paid a very dear price for this experience, and let me add that our historic responsibility dictates that we should never again forget it!

According to our historical experience our social goals can be perfectly realized only if the citizens participate actively not only in implementation but also in posing and formulating the tasks. Both our successes and our difficulties provide good examples of this truth. For this reason our party, even in the present situation, is consistently striving to further increase the active cooperation of the citizens, their activity in handling public affairs and in forming the life of smaller and larger communities. To put it briefly, a further development and strengthening of socialist democracy is a fundamental, essential and unchanging element of our policy. Nothing can turn us from this. Naturally, in this regard also, we are reckoning with the realistic conditions, but the broadening of socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist aspects of our practice of guiding society do not depend and cannot depend on factors connected with the business cycle.

In our view the socialist state occupies a special position in this process. On the one hand it is a fact that the state plays an increasing role, in the present phase of socialist construction, in developing our social relationships; on the other hand the nature, forms and tools of the relationship of state and citizen, of the exercise of state power, decisively influence the condition of socialist democracy. Thus, when we strengthen the positive effects of the state in forming the socialist foundations of our living conditions we should simultaneously increase the influence of and supervision by society in every area of state activity.

In this connection we attribute great importance to strengthening the role of the elected representative organs--from town councils all the way to the National Assembly--in expressing the will of the populace and the opinion

of the various strata and groups of workers. It is our goal that these organs should have greater significance than at present in discovering various interests, debating and harmonizing views and, in the final analysis, realizing the interests of society as a whole. Realizing all this will create even better conditions for making more worthy the supervisory role of the representative organs over the work of the administrative organs and apparatuses, further strengthening the trust of the populace toward our socialist state.

In the interest of this we are dealing with, among other things, a development of the election system. What we want to achieve, in addition to stabilizing well proven institutions, is that the election system should aid better than at present an increase in the activity of voters, increasing their possibilities of choice, and decreasing the formal aspects.

In the interest of making more profound the socialist aspects of the state one of our most important tasks, in addition to developing the activity of the representative organs, is to make a modernization of administrative work, from the regime level down to the local councils, a permanent element of guidance and leadership. I believe that I do not need to give examples of how much we have yet to do in this area.

Our party constantly turns great attention to seeing that every single link of our political system works according to its mission and perfectly fulfills its function. The effective work of the trade unions, the youth federation, the Patriotic People's Front and the other social or mass organizations is indispensable in the socialist society. Setting realistic goals and securing the active participation of the masses in realizing them is possible only with the coordinated work of the political system as a whole.

It hardly needs to be proven that we live in times when the great, comprehensive questions of human existence are coming to the fore ever more sharply. The future of mankind and the prospects of the individual therein are burdened today with many question marks in everyday thinking. There are those who feel that our Earth is filled with agonizing, apparently insoluble troubles and neither capitalism or socialism can escape them. So to what end are the great efforts? The world cannot be turned around. We cannot become reconciled with such thinking. But at the same time, here also, we must talk about the difficulties of socialism. It is a young society. But we must be able to point to those values which give our social arrangements the advantage over forms built on exploitation, even if our weaknesses and problems are undeniable.

We must speak openly, without beating about the bush, about this also: Socialism is not complete and is not yet perfect; it is only a more perfect work, than earlier ones, of a part of mankind. In itself socialism is a movement full of its own cares, problems and contradictions. Despite the fallings, shocks and occasional mistaken paths it has justified in reality the most crucial aspects of the picture of the future drawn for us by the classics. So perhaps the number one ideological conclusion for us might be that the trials and errors did not invalidate the teachings about the incomparable strength and higher order of socialism.

We do not yet know everything about the possibilities of socialism, and a significant part of what we do know already we have derived from practical experience and this has been accompanied by an enrichment of certain ideological theses, sometimes by an unavoidable modification of them--and this is the second conclusion. A creative application of the experiences of our own development and of the other socialist countries is indispensable. Marxism-Leninism is a living science, not a collection of closed dogmas. If life produces new things we have no cause to evidence confusion, and we have no right to keep silent.

Marxism-Leninism--we have repeated this frequently--is not a collection of abstract theses or proclamations which has a superior relationship to reality. It would be worth little if we were in possession merely of a theoretical system which was indifferent to practical experiences, which was incapable of integrating into itself ever new truths. This conclusion, naturally, affects every aspect of our life, but in the present situation it may not be unjustified to stress that it is primarily the possibilities for the economic development of socialism which formulate so many ideological problems. We have no cause to turn away from these either. The maturing of the necessary ideological consequences also belongs among those tasks which must constantly be performed in the interest of further progress.

All this, however, proves not the weakness of socialism but rather its strength. The historical reality of socialism is 65 years old. The socialist world system has stood the challenge. We have an answer to the doubters and the waverers. Where does unemployment, destroying the human personality and making one feel totally superfluous, afflict societies in a great world economic crisis reminiscent of 1929--in capitalism or in socialism? Where does one find the greater security? Can we expect such a thing from those who threaten the world with the challenge of a new arms race more serious than ever before or from those who are trying to obstruct such aspirations in every possible way? I think the answer is unambiguous. Neither the socialist countries, due to the general interests of their social arrangements, nor their institutions, enterprises or citizens individually have any interest in the arms race. The questions of the situation and developmental tendencies of socialism and capitalism must be placed better into the focal point of our propaganda.

Nor can we leave without mention the fact that sometimes even here real values are questioned simply on the basis of the fact that, for example, they came into being at the end of the 1940's or in the first half of the 1950's. Do not misunderstand me; we should not defend the errors, the distortions causing great political damage, but we should not tolerate putting the true and lasting socialist values in the same sack with the errors. If we were submissive in this we would be contributing to the strengthening of moral confusion, uncertainty and cynicism in many, especially in those young people who cannot review in the light of their own experiences the achievements and errors of a magnificent epoch, if one filled with shocks.

Those who put an equal sign between the lasting values and the eliminated distortions do so, naturally, for very different reasons. A lack of information plays a great role in this but we should not, for this reason, forget that not everyone likes what we have. There are those--if not many--who rejected socialism historically. Some are trying to cause ideological confusion with a "critique" of temporary but essential aspects of our socialist society. And there are also those who present deficiencies, which were produced as elements alien to socialism, as lawful characteristics of socialism. It is obvious that we must distinguish among these many shadings. Even at the time of the creation and consolidation of the worker-peasant power our basic method was open, principled debate, and we do not want to deviate from this fundamental method hereafter either. But against those who make nought of the laws of our state order and conduct hostile activity we will use even administrative tools in defense of our socialist achievements and the people's power.

The study of theory must be imbued with living, lively political activity. Mastering the fundamentals of Marxism is not a goal in itself but rather is something to make one capable of orienting oneself in the complex tangle of new facts and new situations, developing an ability for Marxist thinking. Comrade Janos Kadar pointed out in this connection: "The world progresses, our party is a living party, and we must be careful that our own findings of, let us say, 15 years ago do not become dogma, that the positions we take always follow appropriately the change in circumstances."

Public opinion, public thinking is put to ever greater tests in our changing world. The honest majority of mankind is seeking answers to the great questions of the age. The chief tendencies of social progress are clear before us, but how to follow our path to the end without straying or losing the way, where the bends in the path are, where we must slow down in the interest of later progress, where we must accelerate, exploiting the possibilities for a breakthrough--we must answer these questions ourselves. And there are questions the answer to which cannot be put off for 5 or 10 or 20 years. This is a test, a test of the Marxist-Leninist view and thinking, a test of life. Meeting it is possible only if the requirements of the Marxist-Leninist historical view are realized in the course of a concrete analysis of concrete situations. The existing socialism, and Hungarian socialist construction therein, already has its history. A study of this history offers great aid to solving our tasks of today and tomorrow.

8984

CSO: 2500/17

'TERRORIST' GROUP UNCOVERED IN KATOWICE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 82 p 5

[Article submitted by the Polish Press Agency: "The Shocking Aims of the Terrorist Group in Katowice"]

[Text] As we have already informed you, several days ago functionaries of the Security Service [SB] uncovered a terrorist group whose basic tasks were sabotage and the struggle with the organs of order and security.

Among the materials found in the apartment of one of the would-be terrorists, two training texts have the greatest shock value.

The 10-page long "Instruction for Special Actions" is simply principles on carrying out death sentences against "functionaries of the regime." The executors of the liquidation actions were supposed to be a special execution commission, the members of which "must establish their identification with high moral and political values and an impeccable past." A two-fold type of death blow is envisaged: by shooting or by hanging. Liquidation actions are divided into several categories, for example, into "spectacular sentences executed against high functionaries of the regime in public places and with resistance, sentences against women in private dwellings, and sentences against an unarmed condemned person in a public place."

In questions concerning the choice of weapons for liquidation actions, the "Instruction" says: "it is recommended that large caliber pistols be used." This is explained by the fact that shells of these caliber pistols have suitable weight and initial speed to provide the appropriate "shocking action." This action consists--as the "Instruction" "explains"--of the temporary paralysis of the nervous system, among other things; in most cases the individual hit by this type of shell is incapable of an immediate controlled reaction and, thus, is incapable of defending himself.

Later it talks about the use of cartridges with reprocessed shells, the action of which--so the "Instruction" states--"consists of the shattering of the shell on contact with compact muscle tissue or hard bony tissue." Reflections follow on what happens to this tissue, to the extremities, and to the brain! It is difficult to quote the particulars...

The liquidation actions were to be preceded by reconnaissance. Training of liquidation action participants using specially prepared topographic dummies also was planned. The executors of the death sentences were to be armed "to the teeth"--with machine guns, grenades, and pistols.

One of the chapters in the "Instruction" also talks about the execution of sentences against women. It is the most horrifying chapter in this "madmen's book." There really is no way to cite these repulsive, terrifying descriptions.

The instruction titled "Basic Principles of Conspiracy--An Introductory Study" also has a peculiar sort of eloquence. The particular organizational structures of the terrorist group are specified in it, together with their network of contacts. Diagrams illustrate dependences and links in the "dyadic," "triadic," and "quinary" systems. A separate chapter is devoted to the principles of action to be followed in the case of a bad break or if surveillance by the SB is suspected, incidents which are referred to in this document as "occupational hazards."

One can be satisfied even with these excerpts from a unique kind of reading. For they themselves are a commentary on the subject: to what can a sick perception lead? But reflections cannot be suppressed. In what kinds of heads saturated with the venom of hatred could these instructions be born? What was supposed to authorize these people to kill with such premeditation? An underground court, the next child of a sick perception? The reports of terrorist actions carried out in various countries fill us with anxiety. It has not even occurred to us that in Katowice, right in our own backyard, a terrorist group filled with an exceptional desire for blood has begun to be born. What is to be done--it appears that madmen are everywhere. It is a good thing that the efficient and quick action of the SB frustrated these sinister designs. Thanks to this, perhaps, many human beings have been saved.

8729

CSO: 2600/6

SERIOUSNESS OF THREAT OF ILLEGAL YOUTH GROUPS ASSESSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 10-12 Sep 82 p 5

[Interview with Jerzy Bogacz, Plant Board chairman of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] in the Karol Swierczewski Warsaw Precision Products Factory; Prof Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]; Col Dr Stanislaw Liszewski, a teacher in the Military Political Academy; Lt Col Kazimierz Rajewski, law instructor in the KWMO [Citizens' Militia Voivodship Command] in Radom, and Col Zygmunt Rybacki, former youth activist, worker in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; by Wladzimierz Syzdek: "The Main Blame Lies with the Adults"; date and place not specified]

[Text] After our publication of articles concerning illegal youth groups "Swastika After School Hours," "Guilty Because of Others' Faults" and "Left to Themselves" we have been accused of magnifying this marginal problem in the life of our society. We were alerted to the fact that these are, after all, small groups consisting of a few or at the most, several persons. Therefore, these phenomena, it has been argued, cannot present any great threat. To discuss this topic with us we have invited Jerzy Bogacz, Plant Board chairman of the ZSMP in the Karol Swierczewski Warsaw Precision Products Factory; Prof Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz of the PAN; Col Dr Stanislaw Liszewski, a teacher in the Military Political Academy; Lt Col Kazimierz Rajewski, law instructor in the KWMO in Radom, and Col Zygmunt Rybacki, former youth activist, worker in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.]

[Question] Let us start with a question. Would you gentlemen consider the accusations aimed at us to be justifiable?

Zygmunt Rybacki: In my opinion, when we speak only about the groups that use fascist symbolism we could only speak about incidents, not about threatening phenomena. In Poland, the problem of neofascism or fascism does not exist as such. There is no such ideology. Nor have the illegal organizations represented this ideology. In this case, we can speak of the connection between infantile behavior and criminal aggression, with the desire to shock society by crime itself. In Grudziadz it came to an attempt to kill a human being. Thus, this presents a greater problem for psychologists than for politicians.

The aggression observed in the activities of these groups stems from a similar background as the recent "Git" gang phenomenon. It is the problem of the cult of force and leadership. The same people could, for all we know, reject Hitlerite symbols keeping, for instance arms and knives. Even at this stage, however, they are dangerous to themselves and to others. Do they represent a threat to the law-abiding nature of our society? Certainly not. There are only a few such groups. However, because very young people are involved, even one such event is one too many. Thus we try to forstall the course of events so that the young person would not get into collision with the law. We have already accumulated some experience in this respect. The Radom incident is an evidence of that.

Kazimierz Rajewski: In my opinion, activities of the illegal organizations are a sad example of developing anarchy in the life of our society, observed particularly in the second half of 1981. The Radom problem that Colonel Rybacki has already mentioned was one of many similar events. On the foundations laid by the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and by the extreme wing of Solidarity there was formed a group consisting of politically inexperienced young people who called on the society to oppose the government and who printed and disseminated proclamations and propaganda leaflets. In this case, we have managed to prevent the spreading of its activities. These young people after detention, having made their explanations, were then released without punishment. The problem, however, calls for in-depth analysis and for a more careful inquiry.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I would agree with the preceeding statement. The problem of the illegal organizations have, indeed, come into existence in the aftermath of the post-August events. One could, however, look further. We ought to pay attention to the fact that recently we have had to deal with the crisis of values, role models, and outlooks. Young people cannot imagine their own future. Therefore, the problem does exist and one must not underestimate its seriousness.

[Question] We cannot agree with the thesis that these negative events now appearing among youth have been caused by the August 1980 events. Their causes must be found deeper, for instance in the educational system.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I agree, however, I myself would connect these causes above all with the attitudes prevailing among some adults. Coming from an older generation we have been accustomed to think and act on behalf of youth, and put them in difficult situations. This limits young people's possibility of action. Naturally errors persist also in the educational system and in the attitudes of teachers and educators. Thus far they have been more preoccupied with describing rather than explaining the phenomena. This causes our present crop of the described educational effects.

Another inexcusable error was the failure to provide youth with a proper critical evaluation of antisocialist ideologies. The young Polish generation knows very little, for instance, about fascism. Likewise, youth do not have specific personal heroes to emulate. The heroes presented to youth are either too monumental, and, by the same token, unreachable, or they are of little attraction to youth. Youth, seeking examples to emulate in their own lives, are finding them in the fascist ideology among others.

However, I stand firm by the opinion that the August events did influence youth to a considerable degree. Thus, let us keep in mind that, at that time, besides positive events there were also negative ones, such as the propaganda leaflets, writings and other printed materials which were hostile toward socialism and called for resistance against the government. Youth have, after all, partially yielded to these proclamations.

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: I object to putting the blame for the creation of illegal organizations on the educational system as a whole, and above all on the school. This is only a half-truth. The educational system reflects only those controversies which actually exist in society. One must, therefore, look for underlying causes. These exist in the shortcomings and errors of the social system in which two truths coexist: the official and the actual, and in which one is punished for excessive curiosity and not given answers to difficult questions. Should we, therefore, be surprised to find gaps which youth fill up with contents suggested to them by others?

[Question] Based on the statements by Professor Kozakiewicz and Colonel Liszewski, should we, therefore, draw a conclusion that youth are inspired and manipulated by adults?

Stanislaw Liszewski: Naturally, youth have not come by anti-Sovietism or Hitlerism, or resistance all by themselves. All this is the work of a certain adult environment.

Jerzy Bogacz: The problem of adults influencing youth is clearly evident in my factory. In my opinion, this is an indirect type of influence that occurs via materials and propaganda. Youth are so brainwashed that they often do not know what the problem is yet they rebel as a matter of principle, because they are urged to do so by our adversaries, and because such is the pressure of their environment. I have frequently talked with students from the school at our plant. Whenever I touch party or ideological topics, the talk immediately ends there.

[Question] Manipulation of youth makes them an easy tool in the hands of different powers. Accepting this thesis, we must answer a question: Is it a conscious yielding to foreign influences, or is it an expression of rebellion in the face of errors that exist in our system?

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: In the present situation the most sensitive youth, whose potential is not being fulfilled and who can appraise the abuse of value in practice, all assume extremist positions from either the extreme left or right. These most rebellious and most valuable youth are frequently a conscious prey of manipulation. They know what they stand against, what they detest and what they are fed up with.

If we asked any one member of the illegal groups, we would find out that in most instances they are against departures from the principles of equality, social justice, freedom; the principles which are, after all, an indivisible part of socialism. These manipulated youth, as we have defined them here, are frequently not against socialism.

Here one ought to say something about the three positions taken by this group recently. The first considers socialism to be an unrealistic idea in the face of the latest collapse. The people who take that position think that they must escape from the existing world as far as possible. The second position voices approval of the amassing of goods regardless of the price paid or the means through which this is achieved. Finally, the third position calls for negating socialism. Of course, the first group is the most numerous. In spite of all, we can regain them.

[Question] Today the problem of gaining or rather regaining youth for socialism, for, as Professor Kozakiewicz has mentioned, considerable numbers of youth accept it, is a vitally essential one. What ought to be done in order to include youth into the mainstream of political life, to make them copartners in the ongoing changes, to prevent them from forming illegal groups and organizations?

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: We must first of all answer youth's question: What is to be next? At the moment they do not know what the future of the nation is. We have continuously talked and talked, thus far, yet little has been done in practice. In order to regain youth, we ought to put into effect the announced reforms and legislative decrees. We must also show them that Poland is on its way to become a country closer in image to the demands voiced by society after the August 1980 proclamations that were congruent to socialism. Naturally this youth environment will never be of one mind, but it may have the will to co-operate despite differences of convictions.

School also has a great role to play in winning over youth. Unfortunately, it has been silent at present on essential matters and it has been forcing the pupils to be silent as well. School must permit youth to voice their opinions. Incidents of teachers banning political discussion, justified by their reference to the alleged ban imposed by the martial law, must not happen. Only in such discussion of political topics and exchange of views can we find out what youth really do think, whether by any chance they err, and if so, we find how to straighten out their thinking.

Should we continue to encounter the phenomena of educational cowardice, this will become much more of a problem than the existing illegal groups. This is because the first is an expression of opportunism, and the second an expression of involvement which can also be used for positive purposes.

Zygmunt Rybacki: I think we ought to surround ourselves with all the existing positive forces of our youth groups. We know that the worthwhile, element, siding with socialism, frequently assumes a passive and untrusting attitude, fearing public opinion. This can be broken only by telling them the truth about reality, hiding no facts. For nothing repels more than half-truths.

Kazimierz Rajewski: The home will have a great influence on this process of regaining youth's allegiance. Similarly, educators' background must first be appropriately shaped, then care should be taken of their chargees.

Jerzy Bogacz: I would agree with Professor Kozakiewicz' opinion. Our talks with youth must be based on the principle of partnership, not pontification. It will not be easy to overcome certain stereotypes in the thinking of some representatives of the older generation. Here and there they still continue to impose certain truths, examples of behaviors and attitudes on youth.

We also have to make sure that youth will have access to full and honest information. They must know what is actually happening in our country. Then there is the next matter. Instead of making incessant declarations, we must include youth in the reconstruction of our country and present them with specific tasks in it. Having their purpose bright and clear, they will not need to form illegal organizations.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I would like to add to what has been said here that in the daily practice of working with youth we ought to be led by Professor Suchodolski's [a noted social philosopher, member of PAN] thesis contained in the words: "Upbringing ought to prepare youth to function in the world in which they find themselves for the purpose of making the world into what it ought to be, rather than to prepare them for the world they find and the world as it may be." That is why I agree with Mr Bogacz, who emphasizes the need of working together with youth to create our common program of changes in Poland.

Another matter is that we must count on the independence of youth. They must bring themselves up and shape their own characters. Our role ought to be limited only to the unobtrusive provision of concrete examples and patterns of behavior. As we have said before, such patterns were in short supply in the last period.

9934

CSO: 2600/956

ZMW SCHOOL YOUTH AFFAIRS SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 9 Sep 82 p 5

[Interview with Zbigniew Dyminski, Secretary for affairs of the school youth of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], by Jozef Szewczyk]

[Text] [Question] The ZMW is linked with everything connected with youth living in rural regions. Your presence in schools has had mixed comment. You have been even accused of taking away youth from the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]. Could you tell us in which schools your presence is significant?

Answer: We are present in 75 percent of agricultural schools, which are the main base of our school organizations. We also exist in economic and medical high schools, but the greatest number of our circles is found in technical high schools of agriculture and mechanization of agriculture, as well as in technical high schools of construction for agricultural needs.

[Question] Could you specify the voivodships in which the ZMW is developing satisfactorily and those in which there are blanks and tell us what is the reason for that?

[Answer] Our strongest organizations are in the voivodships of Slupsk, Torun, Bydgoszcz, Cracow and Wroclaw. Blanks as such do not exist. The reasons for this are various, ranging from a number of existing agricultural schools to the attitude of a part of the teacher cadre and principals toward the ZMW.

[Question] And what is that attitude?

[Answer] Perhaps we will first say what it was before and how it changed. In the initial period of the ZMW's existence, many principals and many educational councils were ill-disposed toward us. It was argued that the school already had one organization and thus there was no need to introduce another. In course of time, however, we succeeded in persuading school management that the youth should themselves choose the organization they prefer. We were helped in this by former ZMW patrons, who recalled rather quickly the past of the former ZMW. Without this process, without those people, it would be much worse. But even now there are situations where, because of a school principal's resistance, a ZMW circle cannot be organized. It is true that such cases are now rarer and rarer, but they still occur.

[Question] Now that a new school year has begun, what will the ZMW be offering to youth. How does it want to attract youth to it, and what does it want to change in the school, or what is it desirous of doing?

[Answer] We do not promise anything except that the youth will be able to do in our organization whatever will suit them best in conformity with the statute and ideological declaration of the ZMW.

On the other hand, we desire to initiate in the new year a few matters relating to schools. As most important, we consider a change in the concept of the activity and the creation of school self-government. We wish to avoid a situation in which each organization is active on one's own and the self-government also acts as it sees fit. We propose that the chairmen of all organizations functioning at the school become members of the self-government, and that the plan of self-government work be consequent on the work plans of these organizations and its chairman be elected by the entire youth.

[Question] What would be decided by self-government?

[Answer] Self-government should have influence on school life and on decisions of the principal and educational council, at least in some matters, such as the participation of youth in the planning of occupational training, distribution of scholarships, and in other matters resulting from school life.

[Question] How do you intend to shape the attitudes of the young people so that they not acquire a reputation of looking for adventures in the streets, and the the youth organizations are only issuing appeals and giving positions?

[Answer] We would like to bring about a situation in which school lessons on upbringing and civic education would be really devoted to their professed subjects and not merely time used for justification of skipped hours or other matters. At such lessons, time must be found to meet with unusual people who themselves have experienced certain events or can speak of them more, and in a more interesting manner, than a textbook. Such lessons serve the purpose of meeting with representatives of political parties, administrative authorities and managers of industrial enterprises. Let youth ask questions and hear answers, let there be a dialog.

Finally, the history lessons should also undergo a change, although the influence of the youth organization in this matter is considerably smaller.

As a youth organization, we are planning ourselves a number of meetings, rallies and excursions connected with the past and the very recent history of our country. We will not be able to eliminate the guitar from these rallies, but that and only that cannot be the main attraction.

[Question] To conduct educational work in the union we need first of all to have good patrons....

[Answer] It can be said without exaggeration: like patron, like school organization. He is that link between youth and school principal. He must also listen to what the youth have to say, counsel and suggest many things.

We are planning, therefore, to organize shortly a national meeting of teachers, patrons of ZMW circles, and to work out a "Handbook for ZMW Circles in Schools."

[Question] Teachers who are fit to be genuine patrons are always few. For work with a youth organization, the principal most often delegates the youngest teacher, in accordance with the principle: "You are young, colleague, you will have a common language with youth."

[Answer] We have suggested that the youth themselves were to choose patrons, and not that this be done as you have said.

[Question] And what did teachers say?

[Answer] The thing is that agricultural schools, are situated in small localities and there the idea of social work is great.

[Question] Rural youth are likewise present in schools of great cities. Do you intend to reach them too?

[Answer] An organization comes into being where there are youth groups that are enterprising. We have examples of big cities, such as the 'Tri-City' [Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia], and even Katowice, in whose schools as much as 60 percent of the youth are members of the ZMW. But there is another problem. We do not want to force our presence in schools where youth organizations are already functioning well. I have to admit that cooperation between the ZHP and ZMW in schools is, as a rule, good. This is to the great advantage of youth.

1015

CSO: 2600/944

VICE MINISTER OF EDUCATION INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 36, 5 Sep 82 pp 9, 14

[Interview with Vice Minister of Education Gen Div Jan Czapla, by correspondent Wladyslaw Misioluk: "The National Treasure is Found in the School"; date and place not specified]

[Test] [Question] Comrade General, Polish schools are state schools. What does this fact mean for the functions of the school with regard to teaching, bringing up and caring for the pupils?

[Answer] It should be added, Polish schools are schools of a socialist state which, in accordance with legal regulations, "establishes, runs and maintains schools and other institutions of education and upbringing." The consequences of this fact are, first: the responsibility of the state for what goes on in school, how it cares for the nation's greatest treasure, its children and young people; and second: the state, in taking upon itself this responsibility, at the same time has the right and the duty to determine the goals and curricula of the education of the younger generation.

What I am saying is nothing new. This is the way it is everywhere. Even in those countries where private education is the basis of the educational system, the state insures that the schools institute a curriculum in conformance with the state's concept of the social system. It cannot be any different in our country. The Polish school cannot be a place of free interplay between various forces and political orientations; its activities must be subordinated to the formation of a generation which is deeply patriotic, morally and physically healthy, a generation prepared for life under socialism, a generation with a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the nation and the state.

[Question] I can already hear our opponents saying that socialist education impoverishes the personality of the pupil...

[Answer] An entirely baseless charge, since the socialist model of education is composed of all the universal humanistic values, enriched by new values peculiar to socialist humanism. In reality, what we are dealing with here is not a process of impoverishment, but one of enriching the personality of the pupil.

[Question] Mistakes which we have made in the past, as well as the recent destructive activities of the political opposition, have had the effect that in the minds of young people certain values have become distorted, certain concepts have lost their proper meaning...

[Answer] Yes, the damage done to the hearts and minds of young people has been enormous. For example, the word "socialism," for which thousands of people have fought and died, does not always elicit a positive reaction. Freedom is identified with anarchy, patriotism with nationalism, ... The damage is great, and an enormous amount of work will be necessary to restore to certain concepts their proper meanings, to give them a positive emotional value. This affects all of us, and the schools most of all. It must, however, be added that this effort will not have the intended effects if young people do not find the things they hear talked about in school confirmed in the experience of social life.

[Question] Many values make up the socialist model of education. Which of them, in your opinion, Comrade General, should be emphasized in the educational process?

[Answer] All of them are important, all should be remembered. That is the leading idea of the "Main Directions and Tasks in Educational Work with Children and School-Age Young People" compiled in the ministry. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize that we expect the teaching community to interpret this document creatively, to adapt it to the needs of specific schools, and to enrich it with their own knowledge and experience. Returning to your question, although all values should be remembered, nevertheless, taking into account the needs of society as well as the state of people's hearts and minds, there are some which certainly should be emphasized. Among us there is too much selfishness, too much indifference to the fate of one's fellow man and to the welfare of society. For this reason I consider the need to form pro-society, altruistic attitudes an especially important value. I would rank patriotic upbringing among the most important tasks. I'm talking not just about impassioned patriotism, but also about rational patriotism. The important thing is, while loving one's country, at the same time to know and understand the higher interest of the nation, to know how to serve the fatherland. The third of the particularly important values is the work ethic, which I think I hardly need to justify.

[Question] What conditions need to be fulfilled to achieve these and other educational goals?

[Answer] The most important thing is this: it is necessary to link teaching with moral upbringing to a greater degree than has hitherto been done. Every teacher must also be a moral educator. The view represented, for example, by the Polish language and literature teacher who considers that her duty is merely to teach children how to read and write, and orient them to the rules of grammar, and that other matters do not concern her, is unacceptable. Such a situation is unacceptable, and fortunately, the overwhelming majority of teachers do consider themselves moral educators.

Now the postulates of pedagogical theory and practice with regard to the need for an integrated treatment of the processes of education and moral upbringing are becoming especially timely. In curricular and organizational decisions concerning the improvement of teachers, we refer to these postulates. A good deal has already been done in this area, but much remains for us to do...

In achieving the goals and accomplishing the tasks of socialist upbringing, we place great hopes on the activity of youth organizations and student self-government organizations. Improvement will be made in the moral upbringing work of boarding schools and school hostels. We shall improve moral training for work through work.

[Question] In the past it has been different with that last matter. Student apprenticeships and so-called social work were often the opposite of moral upbringing.

[Answer] This will change. We are beginning with the assumption that the job will be a matter of upbringing, while its main initiator and organizer from the planning stage to the evaluation of its results are young people themselves. Training people to work must be done gradually: first they must work for the sake of their class, then for the school, and only later for the good of the community. We shall strengthen the activity of school branches of youth organizations.

[Question] We are speaking about matters of moral upbringing, Comrade General, but since you have emphasized the inseparable links between moral upbringing work and academic teaching, one cannot help asking about the teaching curricula.

[Answer] We shall improve them. Work is considerably advanced, although its completion is still a long way off.

[Question] What will that improvement consist of, for example, in the case of history curricula, which have aroused so many controversies?

[Answer] In this instance the corrections will consist primarily of taking into account content which has hitherto been overlooked, and eliminating the so-called blank spots in modern and contemporary history. There is no reason for us to pass over in silence certain historical facts, even such as the Polish-Soviet war of 1920. If young people are not told about this by their history teachers, someone else will tell them ...

[Question] ... Using the "blank spots" in history to make "black stains" in the minds of the younger generation.

[Answer] Exactly. In the curricula of general and technical high schools there have appeared some so-called controversial subjects relating to the causes of the downfall of the First Republic, evaluating the national liberation uprisings, the genesis of the rise of the Polish state after World War I, and other questions.

The point is not only to supplement the curricula with new content. Emphasis will be put on methods of working with pupils which arouse their interest, so that they will be able to become acquainted with historical phenomena in their full complexity by acquiring knowledge independently. This is important, especially for those parts of the curriculum about which young people often have false and simplified knowledge from sources outside the school. This concerns, among other things, Polish-Soviet relations. The reconstruction of a well-rounded image of the past must lead young people to an understanding of the historical significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance and its importance for Poland's present and future.

[Question] The readers of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI will certainly be interested in the matter of patriotic-defense upbringing, especially defense training.

[Answer] The place and role of patriotic-defense upbringing have not been subject to basic change, but in regard to defense training, greater emphasis will be placed on the role of this subject in moral upbringing, especially its role in developing discipline. We have amended the defense training curricula, and work is continuing on new textbooks for various grades. The demands made of defense training teachers have been increased, especially as concerns their role in the school, and in organizing all-around upbringing activity. We are also considering a possible introduction into selected schools of supplementary military training. This, of course, would only involve boys.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my approval of the work which defense training teachers have done so far; even the most determined enemies of our system have not been bold enough to question the results of that work.

[Question] Comrade General, the last two years have furnished ample proof that all is not well with the civil and political upbringing of young people. This fact is all the more alarming since our political enemies have not shrunk from using young people, and even children, for their purposes ...

[Answer] Yes, there is proof that they have not renounced such means, and for this reason it must again be underlined that the school is a state institution, and as such is subject to the legal order, which includes the restrictions of martial law. When I say this, I am thinking of those who would like to undertake destructive activity on school grounds.

However, the most important thing is the work of moral upbringing. We shall place greater emphasis on respect for the laws and regulations governing school life. This also means a determined struggle against violations of law and order, and against social irresponsibility. The school must teach responsibility, discipline and prudence in evaluating social and political phenomena, and courage in revealing social evil. Young people must know not only their rights, but also their duties.

[Question] Radio "Free Europe" and other similar radio stations, as well as illegal periodicals within Poland, are debating the so-called teaching staff verification. Comrade General, would you like to tell our readers about the progress of this personnel review, its criteria and results?

[Answer] I see no reason not to speak and write about this subject. The personnel review, and it is precisely a review, not a verification, has affected first and foremost administrative and management personnel. The purpose was to evaluate the work and attitudes of people from the point of view of their professional qualifications, organizational abilities, personal culture and ideological-moral attitudes. The interviews have taken place in a serious and businesslike atmosphere. The results? Certain personnel changes were made in superintendents' offices and among school principals. We have dismissed incompetent people, people not involved in the work of moral upbringing, people who do not know how to counteract conflicts in the groups under their supervision.

The review of teaching personnel is continuing. And in this case we are evaluating ideological-moral attitudes, expertise and reliability. Rumors of a supposed purge of teachers are common gossip.

I don't want to suggest by this that we are being lenient towards those teachers who conduct harmful activity in school or who demoralize young people. We are not being and will not be lenient, for upbringing is too important a matter, but even so, one can hardly speak of a purge.

Let me reiterate what we have already spoken of many times: every teacher must be a moral educator. We demand, and will continue to demand, from every teacher, regardless of his subject specialization, compliance not only with the principles of the Polish Constitution - that applies to every citizen - but in addition special discipline and attitudes compatible with the interests of the socialist state.

The teaching personnel review is being carried out very carefully and in full conformance with legality, and that includes with the provisions of the Teacher's Charter. Its results have been used to help solve difficult problems facing teachers in their professions and in their daily lives, and have also furnished ample material which will be used to improve personnel policy in education. Let me add that personnel reviews will be conducted in the future as well.

[Question] The school cannot accomplish its tasks without allies. Which one does it count on the most?

[Answer] Parents must be the first and most important ally of the school.

[Question] Are they?

[Answer] Basically, yes. This is also confirmed by the experience of recent months. After the street incidents of early May, the enemy undertook a new attempt to bring young people and children out into the streets on 13 May. If he did not succeed in this, if the number of other instances of negative conduct on the part of students has declined considerably, this has been the result of, among other things, co-operation between the school and the home. I don't claim that we can say only good of this co-operation. Some parents still avoid the school; the child still hears one thing in school and another thing at home. Often even teachers forget that "The school," as Helena Radlinska wrote fifty years ago, "is the most important, but not the only institution of upbringing."

[Question] One of the most reliable allies of the school has been the army ...

[Answer] It still is. Not to go back to history, to the postwar years, when men in uniform were rebuilding schools and organizing the first classes, I will use a few examples also taken from recent months. Army units have assumed control of the schools and are running them. Also in this year the army has helped organize vacations, and several thousand officers have taken part in meetings with teachers and young people. The schools continue to count on this cooperation and help.

The personnel at the work-place also remain the tried and true allies of the school in carrying out its statutory tasks. Initiatives undertaken by these people to strengthen Polish schools, upbringing and education, especially in the country's present situation, have their social significance.

[Question] Comrade General, with what idea would you like to conclude this interview on the threshold of the new school year?

[Answer] As I have already said, our greatest national treasure, children and young people, is found in school. The all-around intellectual, moral and physical development of the younger generation is of great concern for virtually every Pole. This leads one to hope that precisely the school will be the place where the difficult process of agreement and co-operation for the sake of our future will be most fully realized.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, Comrade General.

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CSO: 2600/948

INVESTIGATION INTO FIRE AT PATRIARCHATE OF PEC REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1655, 19 Sep 82
pp 32-34

[Article by Steven Stanic]

[Text] That March morning (16 March 1981) "when the Patriarchate burned" and when from the flaming treasury of the monastery quarters the black silhouettes of nuns, as in some medieval tale, could be seen saving old ikons and manuscripts, continues to live in the memories of the residents of Pec, but there are still no answers to the basic question of the cause of the fire. The humane policy of not rubbing salt in open wounds, which was so drastically provoked by Albanian irredentism--"Not now, let's not broaden the drama," "Not now, let's not deepen the split," has perhaps exhausted many of its possibilities. Prior to that in any case there were about two decades when it could have been called concealment.

Along With the Committee List

The openness and above all the resolve of Pec legal agencies for a type of revelation, indicate that the incidental comment of a guest from elsewhere, the painter Dragomir Jasovic, was very accurate: "Here today the most dangerous tongue is the one that is silent." The words of this painter, who came to Pec to copy several gems of the Patriarchate's Holy Mother of God church for the Belgrade Museum of Frescoes, and who has both the time and the perception to judge calmly, were confirmed the same day at a session of the Pec LCY opstina committee. Its long list of comments shows how this truce is simply apparent, and silence is evil. For example, in the village of Krusevac Avro Stankovic was beaten, and in some Pec restaurants and factories, in the villages of Celopek, Vitomirica and Turjak slogans have appeared "Death to the Serbian clique," "Kosovo Republic," "Death to the traitors," "Long Live Albanians" etc. Even the least dispute between two families, even where there is no sign of it, is ascribed to nationalism.

When last fall at this time we set out, there were two men under suspicion on the lists of the opstina investigating authorities. A man with degrees in both law and architecture, Slobodan Mikic has the double role of designer of a suspect chimney (which caused a fire in the quarters) and member of the supervisory agency that approved that chimney. The other suspect was the mason who built that chimney, Andrija Kostic.

A Little Hidden Fire Expertise

Along with that is recorded the final, unquestioned statement of the investigating judge Ibis Hoti: "We have definitely determined that there was no human involvement, that outside causes can be ruled out, and that the fire was caused by the stove, which was fired that night with sawdust, and by the stovepipe and chimney asbestos tubing."

We did not find investigating judge Ibis Hoti at his former place--they told us he had become a lawyer in private practice. Nor was the chief of the secretariat of internal affairs, Janko Jankovic, still around. Perhaps a new visit wasn't necessary, for the purpose of this text is not to deal with rare examples of open court cynicism. No matter how much judge Hoti was explicit in his assertions in turning the investigation in only one direction, and his conclusion that of a master, the construction engineer Toma Markovic offered an unambiguous open dilemma. "The chimney of the quarters may have caused the fire, but it didn't have to be the cause. We should conduct a reenactment with an identically constructed stove, the same fuel and pipes, to see if the roof construction could catch fire in that way and cause a fire like that at the quarters."

Thus, too many specialized terms and too many sharp legal positions have come from both sides and have threatened to cool the target and reduce its size. The president of the opstina court, Miladin Popovic, remembered this well. All the reports finally came to him, and the request of the expert Markovic also started there. First a court request came to him to prepare a supplement to his finding, or a hypothesis. President of the court Miladin Popovic told us: "Before that, engineer Markovic was simply struck by the press conference, where in front of the entire corps of reporters from all the papers, his seeking of legal expertise was somehow pushed around."

A morally "malicious" man, engineer Markovic, as the court president called him, who because of a perhaps unintentional error in front of the public had suffered deeply, now received a chance to come off with a clean face at least in front of himself.

And here begins the touching tale of how in January this year, not even counting the time, with three other engineer specialists, Toma Markovic, somewhere in the dark landscape near Prokletija, in the "wilds," far from curious eyes, built a full scale replica of a sawdust-burning stove, with stovepipe and asbestos chimney tubing, just as it was in the suspected room of the monastery quarters. There at five below they began to fire up the sawdust in the small fire chamber, and like an episode from some movie with mad scientists, with bated breath they watched the flames gradually climb and how in half an hour of constant firing the temperature increased 150 degrees, and how for 2 hours it was held between 140 and 150 degrees. At such temperatures, not even the softest wood can catch fire, let alone the ceiling beams that are fully 8 centimeters from the chimney. To ignite the softest wood a temperature of at least 280 degrees would be required.

The Nuns Didn't Come

The court president, comrade Miladin, now accepts the other suggestion of the expert Markovic, who without any specialist's vanity, along with the conclusions from his new supplementary report, proposes "superexpertise" from disinterested, well-known specialized institutes throughout the country. In his proposal to the court he named places from Skopje to Ljubljana and Novi Sad.

In the meantime the two suspects, Slobodan Mikic and Andrija Kostic, stayed on the hook, without real satisfaction, except for the silence of the entire marketplace, which had its own, other worries. Master Andrija again was accepted and with great trust was assigned the job of building the new quarters. Slobodan Mikic, for his part, said that for the first time in his life he felt "like a weak instrument in strange, malicious hands." This man, who after 10 years of wandering to many continents and work at the United Nations had returned to his small town at the entrance to the Rugovska valley, says that now for the first time he was thinking of leaving it for good, like many before him.

After those supplementary findings by the expert Toma Markovic and his categorical conclusion that the fire was not caused by a stove fired with sawdust, the opstina court sent letters with requests for expert opinions, first of all to the Construction Institute in Zagreb. But the letter was returned with the explanation that they could not provide an opinion, but that they should turn to the Institute for Testing Materials and Constructions in Ljubljana or the Institute for Testing Materials in Belgrade. And while the letters with polite refusals came back one after another, comrade Miladin attempted to clear up at least some unclear places in the investigation:

"The prosecutor suggested that a number of nuns be called for questioning from the Patriarchate, for there were many contradictory statements as to whether the fires might have been built with solid fuel. The nuns, however, refused, because they would need approval from the Patriarch for that. I called the secretary of Patriarch German and he confirmed to me that they were convinced that the fire was caused by other means and no statements from the nuns were needed. Later the mother superior Fevronija said to us "Do not deny that which is Ceasar's," thinking of the already stated patriarchal ban on testifying. We did not want to resort to legal means such as forced attendance and penalties, for that would not be in order. Nevertheless, we asked for the documents of the records on the reconstructed chimneys, but we were told 'The records were in the quarters and they were burned in the fire...'"

And while these small and great court proceedings were under way, and time was slipping away, behind the modern apartment houses of the main street of Pec the celebration of dedication of a new Orthodox church was being prepared.

The church had been raised on the site of a long destroyed church building. The bell rang for several days, and the neighboring residents, even the Serbs and Montenegrins, threatened from above that they would complain, that they would close the church and "silence that devil's bell forever," while at the same time passing Albanians took off their hats in respect and entered the still undedicated church to light candles.

Paradise Lost

In the distant plum orchards of the Patriarchate, in the village of Orasje 7 km from Pec, where we were led to be shown the blessings of this fruitful land that is more fruitful than the biblical Misira, we found an unforgettable scene. In that truly cobalt abundance of plum fruit covering six hectares, the apparently crystal transparent broken geometry of the uprising land Prokletija in the background, the flooded traces of silver streams, the apple trees rustling, the doves calling in even tones, we met two creatures, the old nun Marina and little Braim. They were sitting in the middle of the plum grove under a lean-to of woven branches and straw. Marina was making a jumper and talking to this wide-eyed, open-mouthed 10-year-old boy. She was telling something enchanting, as could be seen from the green eyes of the child. She said that this lad Braim, this Albanian came from some neighboring village; he had come the first day that Marina had been sent to guard the orchard in her black habit and frighten off the birds. He had come and stayed, a little Albanian next to the Orthodox nun, to run between the rows of plum trees, chase birds, and protect the plum orchard from all manner of attacks, while Marina knitted him a jumper from some old boiled wool. But these two creatures in this lost paradise with the occasional warm scent of meadow grasses and house basil, really don't belong to our story, but to another world without our political convulsions, a world of shining tolerance on the very edge of mankind's childhood. Perhaps it is the unreal part of some work by Dostoevsky, perhaps from the "Dream of a Ridiculous Man," in which the people talk about trees as about similar creatures to them, and the animals are won over by their great love, and walk among the tame and domesticated... Perhaps that is after all a new beginning that will be written up some year in the future in an encyclopedia about Kosovo, where it will mention word for word "the harmony and mutual love of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins about which stories are now told. That which distinguishes interpersonal relations in this multinational Province is the well-known harmony and brotherhood of the people living here."

This is so surprisingly lovely and precisely because of this picture and this encyclopedia text that we can almost ignore the terrible sobering judgement that we heard after that: "And what about the overturning and breaking of the graves of our dead, and the defacing of the monument to the national hero Peter Prilja--is the chimney correctly built there too?!"

Perhaps nonetheless in closing we should return to the place where things are gradually beginning to be resolved. Perhaps too slowly, for the last request

for "superexpertise" sent on 15 July has been returned from the Insurance Institute in Zagreb. And a new request, because of the vacation of investigating judge Sadri Cosi, has been sent with great hopes to the Institute for Court Expertise in Novi Sad, on just 9 September, the day we arrived in Pec.

"Well, what if Novi Sad sends back a report that agrees entirely with your own expert, engineer Markovic? Will the investigation take a different direction then?"

"If the finding is the same as Markovic's, the investigation will not take any different direction, but rather it will again be a case for the investigating agency to find new evidence as to whether the fire was set and then, of course, who set it."

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